M.40 Site 4

Excavations at Copt Hay, Tetsworth, Oxon

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with sections by
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SUMMARY

Excavations on Medieval village earthworks at Tetsworth, Oxon., revealed six phases of occupation: 3rd–11th century agricultural features underlay the corner of a late 11th–early 12th century embanked enclosure with a deep ditch. During the 12th century there was a farmhouse with associated structures including a threshing floor and an enclosed croft. The structure of the house and the animal bones suggest that its occupants were not ordinary peasants, and the documentary evidence indicates at least one such person living in Tetsworth at this date. The house was replaced by a more ordinary farmhouse and barn during the early 13th century. There is no evidence of habitation on the site after the end of the 13th century.

INTRODUCTION

THE modern village of Tetsworth (SP 687017) straddles the main Oxford–London road 11 miles (18 km.) east of Oxford. The M.40 motorway runs just to the south of it.

There has been a long history of roadworks at Tetsworth to improve the link over the Chilterns between the south Midlands and the capital. In 1447, a licence was granted to found a hermitage at Tetsworth and a chapel of St. John the Baptist. The hermit was to labour with his hands for the maintenance of the highways between Stokenchurch and Wheatley Bridge.[1] A local legend states that Napoleonic prisoners of war dug the cutting through the top of the ridge on which the village is situated, in which the A.40 now lies. Certainly it was not there in 1797[2] and was only done in the last years of coaching.[3] These, then, were the predecessors of the huge earthmoving machines that arrived at Tetsworth in 1972.

Fieldwalking by the Oxford University Archaeological Society Field Section in November 1970 discovered earthworks on the line of the motorway that seemed likely to represent part of the Medieval village. A plane-table and level survey was made of the earthworks in Copt Hay (Fig. 2 ; located on Fig. 1), and a plane-table survey of those in Home Ground.[4]

During Easter 1971, trial excavations were carried out in Home Ground

[1] *V.C.H. Oxon.*, VII, 147.
[2] R. Davis, *A New Map of the County of Oxfordshire* (1797).
[3] C. G. Harpur, *The Oxford, Gloucester, and Milford Haven Road* (1905), I, 136.
[4] Field names from 1839 tithe map. Bodleian tithe maps 381 (Home Ground is called Church Piece on 6 in. map in Ashmolean Museum).

(Church Piece) by Mr. D. A. Hinton (M.40 Site 5), and in May of that year a trial trench was dug in Copt Hay Piece by the O.U.A.S. (Site 4). As this discovered a deep Medieval occupation deposit, it was extended and, from June to August of that year, the O.U.A.S. excavated an area by hand of some 280 square metres in a seven-week excavation. During a week at Easter 1972, a further 180 square metres were excavated, this time by using a machine to clear topsoil. Over 100 metres of machine section were dug over much of the site due to be destroyed by the motorway.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to thank the farmer, Mr. G. Claridge, for allowing us to excavate the site before he handed it over to the motorway contractors.

Thanks are due to the O.U.A.S. field section led by Miss A. Hayes and Mr. D. Rowell for finding and surveying the site, supervisors Mr. R. Ainslie, Mr. G. Lambrick, Mr. J. J. West and Mr. C. Whittick, and volunteers from the O.U.A.S. and the M.40 Group.

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THE VILLAGE AND SITE

THE SETTING OF THE VILLAGE

The modern village of Tetsworth is situated on the northern slope of a ridge of Gault Clay which rises about 75 feet to a height of just over 330 feet (FIG. 1). The ridge is the watershed of two stream systems, the Cuttle Brook to the north and the Haseley Brook to the south, and these have created the undulating clay countryside which surrounds the village. Both stream systems drain into the River Thame five miles to the west. Four miles away to the south-west, the Chilterns rise to over 800 feet.

The excavations revealed that in places there was a glacial deposit above the Gault Clay of the ridge. Where present it was up to two feet deep and took the form of streaks of yellow clay with flints and blotches of brown sandy clay or thin bands of angular limestone gravel. The topsoil is a deep, dark clayey loam which is basic, due to the presence of a little limestone gravel in it. It is not the easiest soil to plough, being wet and heavy, but it is fertile and good for pasture.

The only woodland in the parish is one small copse and there are no references to there ever having been any more. The present farming practice is mixed, but in 1797 almost the whole parish was under pasture.[5] That had not always been so, for there are extensive traces of ridge and furrow.

[5] Davis, *Oxon. Map.*

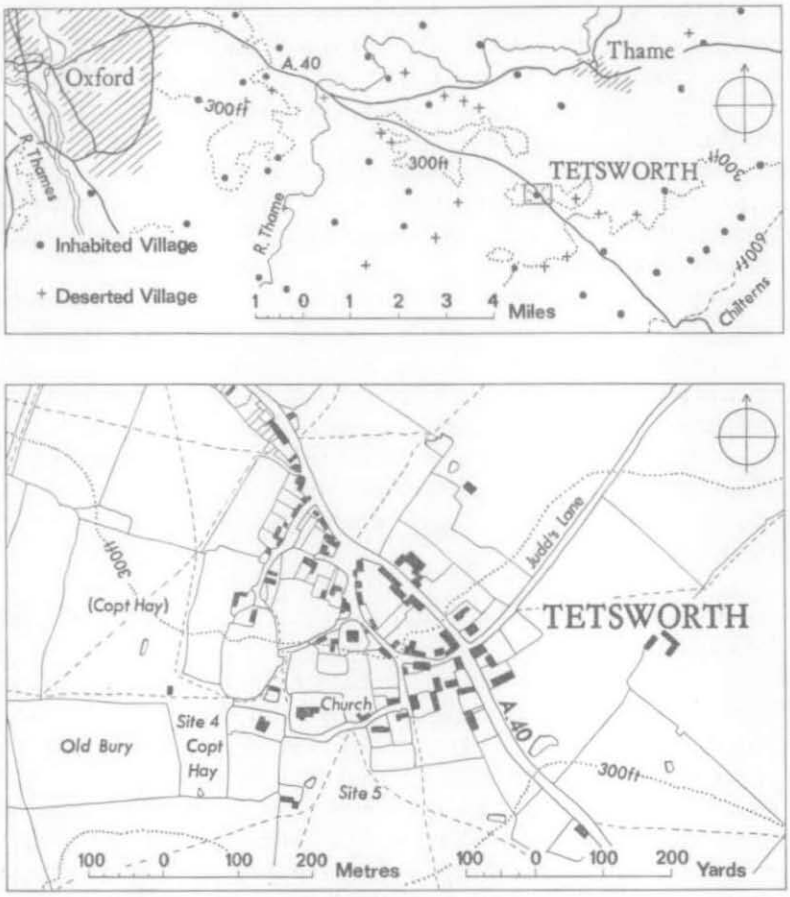

FIG. 1

Location of Tetsworth and of the site. *Reproduced from the 25 in. Ordnance Survey map with the sanction of the Controller of the H.M.S.O. Crown Copyright Reserved.*

The spring line is just below 300 feet, most of the modern village lying below it. Since the subsoil is clay, the water table is close to the surface even at the top of the ridge, so wells would not have had to be very deep.

There is no stone outcropping in the parish. The nearest outcrops are two miles to the north at Moreton, where the Cuttle Brook has cut down to Portland limestone, and two miles to the west, at the Haseleys, where the action of the Haseley Brook has also caused the Portland Beds to be exposed. Just over half-a-mile to the south, the main stream of the Haseley Brook would have provided, as well as rushes for thatch,[6] a convenient source of flint pebbles and gravel for floors. The boundaries of the civil parish of Tetsworth, then in Thame Hundred, are first shown accurately on the Thame Enclosure Award of 1826 ;[7] the

[6] *The Thame Cartulary*, ed. H. E. Salter (Oxon. Rec. Soc., XXV, XXVI : 1947–8), pp. 165–6. Peter Talemasche grants a bed of rushes to the Abbey, *c.* 1210.

[7] Oxfordshire Record Office, Thame Inclosure Award : 1826.

boundaries of the early Medieval parish can only be assumed. The Haseley Brook forms a good natural boundary to the south with Wheatfield ; the western boundary of the parish with Great Haseley seems to be a pre-enclosure one since it is not angular, with a change in direction with each post-enclosure field ; the other two are not at all clear.

At the time of excavation, the only major road running through the parish was the A.40. In the south-east corner of the parish, a minor road leaves the A.40 for Stoke Talmage to the south. Judd's Lane (FIG. 1), running northwards to Moreton and Thame cannot now be used by traffic.

The modern village, before its recent expansion, was largely situated on the northern slope of the Tetsworth rise between the spring line and the southern side of the A.40 (FIG. 1, from the 25 in. O.S. map of 1921). The church stood apart from the rest of the village on the crest of the ridge, but had not always done so. Where they have not been obliterated by the village's expansion of the past 25 years, there are extensive earthworks from the Medieval village on the top of the ridge. All those which may be house sites are above the spring line, and the boundaries of their crofts extend down the northern and southern slopes of the rise.

The nearest town to Tetsworth is Thame, 3 miles to the north ; 11 miles to the west is Oxford, Watlington is five miles to the east, and Wallingford nine miles to the south.

In a circle four miles in diameter centred on Tetsworth, there are three other villages (FIG. 1), Moreton, Stoke Talmage and Postcombe, the next village along the A.40 from Oxford. There are also the sites of five deserted villages : Attington and Copcourt to the east, Adwell and Wheatfield to the south, and Latchford to the west. On the location map (FIG. 1), a strip across south-east Oxfordshire from Oxford to the Chilterns, excluding the villages at the base of the Chilterns, there are 32 inhabited and 19 deserted Medieval villages.[8] The only other parts of the county where anything like this proportion of desertion is known are the North Oxford hundreds of Banbury and Wootton. On the other hand, along the base of the Chilterns there are six villages grouped as close as any on the rest of the map before they were spaced out by the desertions.[9] Eastern Oxfordshire was badly hit by the Black Death in the mid-14th century,[10] and all the villages in Thame Hundred including Tetsworth suffered some depopulation.[11] Most of the desertions are due to enclosures at the end of the 15th century of arable for pastureland.[12] The villages at the base of the Chilterns did not suffer total abandonment because they would have possessed wooded upland tracts giving a diverse economy less dependent on arable farming :[13]

[8] Deserted village sites from K. J. Allison, M. W. Beresford and J. G. Hurst, *The Deserted Villages of Oxfordshire* (1965), 30–47.

[9] *Ibid.*

[10] *V.C.H. Oxon.* Relevant volumes.

[11] At Tetsworth the Black Death appears to have inflicted a damaging blow, with a high 1354 tax abatement. However, the poll tax of 1377 indicates a recovery. *V.C.H. Oxon.*, VII, p. 153.

[12] Allison *et al.* (1965), *op. cit.*, 30–47.

[13] *Ibid.*, 23.

desertion of upland farmsteads in this area is shown by the excavations at Sadler's Wood (M.40 Site 13).

DOCUMENTARY REPORT. By J. J. WEST

Ownership

The site was known as 'Copt Hay' in 1839, when it formed part of the 'manor' estate owned by Miss Charlotte Weston.[14] It can probably be identified as the *Hegge* in which Peter Talemasche granted pasturage rights to Thame Abbey in 1207–8.[15] (See below, p. 46.)

The township of Tetsworth[16] formed part of the pre-Conquest demesne of the see of Dorchester. It passed to the Bishop of Lincoln, who seems to have used it to enfeoff one of the sixty knights that he was charged with raising for the King's service.[17] It is probably represented in Domesday by the ten hides in the Bishop's manor of Thame held by a knight called Robert. This may be the same Robert who held land in the Bishop's north Oxfordshire manors of Banbury, Cropredy and Wickham.[18] By 1146 it was in the possession of Robert Chevauchesul,[19] who may have been the grandson of the Robert recorded in Domesday.[20] The Chevauchesuls held Tetsworth from the Bishop as one-and-a-half fees.[21] It was not, however, their only property, as they held three Oxfordshire fees in 1201.[22] Robert Chevauchesul died childless in the early years of the 13th century.[23] During his lifetime he had given each of his two sisters one of the family fees, presumably as dowries,[24] and the remaining fee was divided between them on his death.[25] One sister, Matilda, married Peter Talemasche the elder of Stoke Talmage ;[26] the other, Emma, married William Danvers of Bourton.[27] Throughout the 13th century, land in Tetsworth is either 'of the Talemasche fee' or 'of the Danvers fee'.[28] Emma was still alive *c.* 1200 ;[29] so she cannot have been born much before 1130. Her eldest son Robert was, however, old enough to witness a charter in about 1180.[30] We can therefore place the date of her

[14] Bodleian tithe maps 381.

[15] *The Thame Cartulary*, ed. H. E. Salter (Oxon. Rec. Soc., XXV, XXVI : 1947–8), 113.

[16] The name 'Tetsworth' first appears in a bull of Eugenius III dated 5th February 1146 ; but its etymology is Saxon. *Thame Cartulary*, 143 ; M. Gelling, *Place Names of Oxfordshire* (P.N. Soc., XXIII : 1953) I, 144.

[17] *V.C.H. Oxon.*, I, 378.

[18] *Ibid.*, I, 403.

[19] *Thame Cartulary*, 143.

[20] *V.C.H. Oxon.*, VII, 149.

[21] *The Book of Fees*, I, 40.

[22] *Rotuli de Oblatis et Finibus*, 155.

Their other property seems to have been in the township of Epwell in Swalcliffe parish, and in the township of Fawler in Charlbury. Epwell was still held jointly with Tetsworth at the end of the 13th century. (*Eynsham Cartulary*, ed. H. E. Salter (O.H.S. XLIX, LI ; 1906–7, 1908) I, 141 ; and *Thame Cartulary*, 198).

[23] He was still alive in 1201. *Rotuli de Oblatis et Finibus*, 155.

[24] *Ibid.*

[25] *Eynsham Cartulary*, I, 143.

[26] *Thame Cartulary*, 96 ; and *Eynsham Cartulary*, I, 145.

[27] *V.C.H. Oxon*, VII, 149 ; and F. N. Macnamara, *Memorials of the Danvers Family* (London, 1895), 17.

[28] '*In villa de Tettesworth & Ippewell sunt duo feoda viz. feodum Danuers & feodum Thalemache*' *Thame* Cartulary, 198.

[29] *Ibid.*, 111.

[30] *Ibid.*, 104.

marriage—and, if her brother's gift was indeed a dowry, the date from which the Danvers held a share of the Tetsworth fee—in the years 1145–60. A charter quoted by Macnamara, which cannot now be traced, would put the Talemasche holding at least as early as 1180.[31]

Matilda's holding descended first to her son, Richard Talemasche, who was described as '*dominus fundi*' in 1199,[32] and then to his son, Peter the younger. It was this Peter who granted Thame Abbey the pasturage rights '*ad octo boues & duos equos in dominico de Tetteswrde, scilicet in Lobbe*[33] *& in Hegge & in omnibus aliis locis ubi pasture mee sunt . . . intra campos predicte uille ut eant per omnia cum bobus meis & ubi boues mei ire debent*'.[34] *Hegge* was presumably, therefore, Talemasche demesne in 1207–8.

No later reference to *Hegge* can be traced ;[35] so its subsequent history is not known. The *caput* of the Talemasche holding seems always to have been at Stoke ;[36] they soon alienated their Tetsworth inheritance,[37] and the last evidence of their holding land in the township is *c.* 1225.[38]

Occupation

It is suggested elsewhere (below, p. 77) that, although the site seemed, at the turn of the 13th century, too rich to be a 'normal' peasant holding, it provided no buildings substantial enough for a manor. There is no indication whether or not there were any manorial buildings in Tetsworth at the relevant time. Macnamara[39] suggests that there were, but he presents no evidence.

It is possible that the Chevauchesuls lived at Tetsworth, since it formed half of their Oxfordshire holding. It is unlikely, however, that either the Danvers or the Talemasches did. The Danvers patrimony at Little Bourton, a hamlet in the parish of Cropredy,[40] seems to have been substantial. Emma's son Robert was able to give all his maternal inheritance, including all his property in Tetsworth, to his son, Geoffrey, as a dowry for his wife, Sara.[41] The grant was made before 1212, as by then Geoffrey was in possession ;[42] Robert, the father, was still alive in 1220.[43]

[31] 'Peter Talemasche grants to Robert Doilli for his homage and service, and for one horse of ten marks, and for one hawk which he gave to him, one virgate of land in Tettesworde.' Quoted in Macnamara, *op. cit.*, 22 ; and dated by him to *c.* 1170–80.

[32] *Thame Cartulary*, 106.

[33] *Cf.* 'Northlobb', which is a field name recorded on the tithe map at SP 675028 (Bodleian tithe maps 381) ; and the current names of 'Lobb Farm' (SP 665025) and 'Lobbersdown Hill' (SP 677038).

[34] *Thame Cartulary*, 114.

[35] Gelling suggests that Copt Hay can be identified with the *Roppedehegg* of the Thame Cartulary (*Thame Cartulary*, 195) and the *Copped Hedge* which is mentioned in a survey of crown lands in the P.R.O. (Bodl. MS. film 11). Roppedehegg occurs in a terrier (*c.* 1300) of *Homgrangia* (the home grange of Thame Abbey), Copped Hedge in a survey (1551–2) of 'Sydenham Manor or Grange', which is adjacent to Thame Park. That both these documents are referring to the same field (or possibly hedge) seems almost certain ; but there is nothing, apart from the similarity of the name, to connect either of them with Tetsworth. Gelling, *op. cit.*, 145.

[36] *V.C.H. Oxon.*, VIII, 200.

[37] See, for example, *Thame Cartulary*, 111, 112.

[38] *V.C.H. Oxon.*, VII, 149.

[39] Macnamara, *op. cit.*, 15.

[40] *V.C.H. Oxon.*, X, 177.

[41] *Eynsham Cartulary*, I, 143.

[42] *Book of Fees*, I, 40.

[43] *Eynsham Cartulary*, I, 141.

Such arguments are inconclusive. We can infer that Robert Danvers did not live at Tetsworth ; but his brother Ralph may have done, for he is recorded as holding some Tetsworth property from his brother *c.* 1197.[44] Geoffrey may have lived there after his marriage. There was certainly Danvers demesne in Tetsworth : Robert gave half a virgate of it to Thame Abbey.[45] It is possible, therefore, that Tetsworth became, during the 13th century, the home of one or more cadet branches of the Danvers family. The Tetsworth Hundred Rolls of 1279 record that Edmund de Burton, Robert Danvers and Richard Danvers were all holding in chief from the Bishop, and that Henry Danvers was holding from Richard.[46] A late 13th century scutage roll refers to land held by Simon Danvers (presumably ' de Burtone '),[47] Edmund de Burtone, Richard Danvers Roger Danvers, Amice Danvers and her daughter Agnes.[48] How they are related to one another, and whether any of them lived in the village or merely held land there, is unknown. There is only one member of the Chevauchesul family whom we know for certain lived at Tetsworth : Clarice, Robert Chevauchesul's niece (we do not know who her parents were)[49] married Alan ' *clericus de Tetteswrde* ', and was living there in 1199.[50]

If the site seems insubstantial for a manor, it also seems too rich for ' a normal peasant holding '. How normal were Tetsworth peasant holdings in the 13th century? The Tetsworth Hundred Roll not only lists the Bishop of Lincoln's tenants-in-chief, but an ' outstanding number of small free tenants ',[51] a characteristic also revealed in two other documents. The scutage roll,[52] which can be dated to the last two decades of the 13th century,[53] lists over thirty tenants in the two villages of Tetsworth and Epwell[54] who held not less than an acre, but not more than a virgate, of land.[55] A late 14th century terrier[56] shows that John Wynbush built up his estate in Tetsworth (later to be known as Wynbush Manor) by consolidating at least twenty-one small individual holdings. Whether such a system of land ownership implies anything at all about the prosperity of the village and its inhabitants is an open question.

Desertion

The site was deserted at the end of the 13th century, but not the village. The tax assessment of 1306[57] belies any substantial depopulation. The decline

[44] *Thame Cartulary*, 109.
[45] *Ibid.*, 107.
[46] *Rotuli Hundredorum*, II, 820.
[47] *cf. Thame Cartulary*, 171.
[48] *Ibid.*, 198.
[49] Macnamara, *op. cit.*, 17 ; and F. G. Lee, *The History of the Prebendal Church of Thame* (London ; 1883), 200, suggest that she was Matilda Chevauchesul's daughter, and the sister of Richard Talamasche. Alan held his Tetsworth land (which was substantial) of the Talemasche fee. *Thame Cartulary*, 106.
[50] *Ibid.*, 106.
[51] *V.C.H. Oxon*, VII, 152.
[52] *Thame Cartulary*, 198.
[53] *Cf.* Bodleian MS. chs. Oxon. 633.
[54] The two holdings of the Chevauchesul inheritance were not distinguished.
[55] The roll implies that a Tetsworth virgate contained thirty acres.
[56] *Thame Cartulary*, 170.
[57] *V.C.H. Oxon.*, VII, 231.

of Tetsworth into a chapelry of Thame[58] can be explained by the ecclesiastical pretensions of the Prebendal Church ; it carries no economic implications.

One plausible explanation of the desertion of the site is that it was caused by the Cistercians. A Cistercian abbey was moved to Thame Park from Oddington in 1139,[59] and had received its first grant of land in Tetsworth by 1146.[60] It continued to be given, to buy and to exchange land in the township until, around 1225, it held over twenty virgates.[61] It seems to have consolidated its holding into a grange ;[62] the Abbot was returned as joint lord of Tetsworth with Simon Danvers in 1316 ;[63] and the Abbey's property was known as a ' manor ' by 1365.[64] The consequences of Cistercian farming are well known : the monks enclosed and depopulated, like those of Rufford, Notts.[65] We know that Thame Abbey acquired and consolidated land at Tetsworth. It owned a fulling mill before 1300,[66] and was one of the fourteen Cistercian houses (mainly in the north-east of England) licenced to export wool to Flanders in their own ships in the early 13th century.[67] The story is enticingly simple : that the site was acquired by the monks at the end of the 13th century, its croft put down to pasture, and its tenants, no longer needed to till the soil, displaced.

A Cistercian grange was, however, not necessarily a sheep farm. Donkin argues that ' the typical grange was a predominantly arable holding, although most had some pasture and played a part in the growing of wool '.[68] Sheep, it seems, predominated (if at all) only during the 13th century. By the time the Tetsworth site was being abandoned, the great age of Cistercian sheep-farming was coming to an end. Thame Abbey may have had a fulling-mill before 1300, but it also had a vaccary.[69] The rights of pasturage which Peter Talemasche granted the Abbey in 1207–8 were specifically for eight cattle and two horses.[70] The lands held by the Abbey in Tetsworth *c.* 1225 were in part single acres distributed around the various arable furlongs.[71]

Nor was the only change from arable to pasture. The V.C.H. cites the name ' Estmede ' as indicating meadow-land.[72] A late 13th century charter, however, granted '*unam sellionem terre iacentem in cultura que vocatur Estmed*'.[73] The direction of agricultural development is not straightforward.

[58] Four Tetsworth clergymen of the 12th and early 13th centuries can be identified : Osbert ' sacerdos ' (*fl. c.* 1148–55) ; William ' presbiter ' (*fl. c.* 1180–*c.* 1199) ; Alan ' clericus ' (*fl. c.* 1197–*c.* 1210) and Roger ' persona ' (*fl. c.* 1200). *Thame Cartulary, passim.* For the chapelries of Thame, see *V.C.H. Oxon.*, VII, 155.

[59] *V.C.H. Oxon.*, II, 83.

[60] *Thame Cartulary*, 143.

[61] *Ibid.*, 173.

[62] *V.C.H. Oxon.*, VII, 150.

[63] *Feudal Aids*, IV, 167.

[64] *Cal. Charter Rolls*, V, 192.

[65] M. W. Barley, ' Cistercian Land Clearances in Nottinghamshire : Three Deserted Villages and their Moated Successor ', *Nottingham Med. Stud.*, I (1957), 75.

[66] R. A. Donkin, ' The Cistercian Order in Medieval England : Some Conclusions,' *Trans. Inst. Brit. Geog.*, XXXIII (1963), 191.

[67] *Ibid.*, 192.

[68] *Ibid.*, 187.

[69] *Ibid.*, 190.

[70] *Thame Cartulary*, 113.

[71] *Ibid.*, 173.

[72] *V.C.H. Oxon.*, VII, 152.

[73] Bodleian MS. chs. Oxon., 631.

The Abbot of Thame was not the only landholder who consolidated a manor in Tetsworth during the 14th century. Reference has already been made to ' Wynbush Manor ', the estate created by John Wynbush between the years 1335 and 1378. At no time did the Abbey dominate the village. At the end of the 13th century there were six free tenants holding at least a virgate, not counting the Danvers demesne.[74] The Abbot was only one of them. Any of them might sell, exchange or augment his property ; might cause, that is, the desertion of the site. There is, of course, no evidence about its ownership at the relevant time.

This all assumes that the economic process which caused the desertion of the site (if it was an economic process) had something to do with the land : that it was a matter of agriculture. An alternative explanation would link the pattern of settlement with the pattern of roads. It would be difficult to overestimate the importance of the London road in the days of coaching, post-houses and turnpikes. But how important was it in the 13th century?

The hermitage established in 1447 has already been mentioned (above p. 41). Tetsworth was important enough *c.* 1360 to be recorded on the Gough Map.[75] For it did not lie only on the road to London ; before the construction of the Shillingford and Benson turnpike in 1770,[76] it lay on the road from Thame to Wallingford as well. The Thame road is now the track known as Judd's Lane.[77] Both roads existed in the 13th century, when they were known as *Walyngfordwey* and *via regia vocata Londonwey*.[78] It is just as reasonable to see the settlement being attracted down to the cross-roads, as it is to argue for a desertion in the face of consolidating Cistercians.

Conclusions

We can suggest that the site was part of a manorial demesne in the early 13th century and, by inference, in the 12th as well. That is all that can safely be said. We can tell nothing about the inhabitants of the buildings that were excavated. They may have been used by an ' abnormally ' prosperous peasant ; they may form part of a manor, the rest of which has not been found ; or they may represent a household that was neither peasant, nor manorial. Written evidence can rule nothing out. And, when it comes to the desertion of the site, documents are no more helpful : the Cistercian desertion hypothesis may be valid or it may not. There are too many other possibilities.

COPT HAY PIECE

Copt Hay as shown on the location plan (FIG. 1) was in 1921 an amalgamation of two fields adjoining at their S.E.–N.W. corners, the same lay-out as shown on the 1839 tithe map. Subsequently the two fields were separated again. As explained below it is believed that the name belonged originally to the smaller

[74] *Rotuli Hundredorum*, II, 820.
[75] *The Map of Great Britain* c. *A.D. 1360 Known as the Gough Map* (Oxford, 1958).
[76] *V.C.H. Oxon.*, VII, 163.
[77] Oxfordshire Record Office, Thame Inclosure Award : 1826, plan 5.
[78] *Thame Cartulary*, 183.

south-eastern field only, and unless stated otherwise, it will only be used for that field.

Copt Hay was a field of about three acres (just over one hectare) under permanent pasture. It extended north-south over the crest of the rise on which Tetsworth is situated and has now been bisected by the motorway (FIG. 2).

Running east-west across the field was a bank standing about one metre high which, at its western end, turned northwards and followed the field boundary. This bank formed one edge of a rectangular ditched enclosure to the south, its other three sides following the present field boundaries. It has been interpreted as a croft. At the bottom of it was a hollow eight metres across which is now dry but could formerly have been a pond.

The bank running northwards continued for at least 35 metres, but became shallower and seemed to turn east (although this apparent feature did not show in section A–D). There was a possible continuation of it at its full height in the field to the north-east (off the plan) and here it turned eastwards. It had been cut by a ditch which ran round the boundary of the northern field. Part of this ditch is just inside Copt Hay.

The bank seemed to form a rectangular enclosure about 100 metres wide, with the south-west corner in Copt Hay, the north-west corner in the field to the north-west and its extent to the east uncertain (the enclosure is definitely at least 35 metres by 60 metres). The motorway now runs diagonally across the south-west corner of this enclosure.

The 1839 tithe map called the field Copt Hay Piece.[79] Copt is from the O.E. *coppede* ' provided with a top ', ' embanked ' or ' polled '. Hay can be derived from the O.E. *haeg*, *hege* or *haga* meaning hedge or enclosure.[80] Almost any kind of enclosure can be inferred, from a simple enclosed field to a deer park, a hunting lodge, or even a ditched and embanked defensive site (e.g. Wellow, Notts.).[81] Interpretation of the name Copt Hay can range from ' enclosure with an embankment ' to ' clipped hedge '.

Copt Hay may be the same field as the *hegge* which appears in the grant of pasturage rights in 1207–8, where ' *in Hegge* ' is specified as being ' *in dominico de Tetteswrde* ' (p. 46).[82] The problem remains as to which of the two adjoining fields now bearing the name Copt Hay bore it originally. Whilst the northern one only has a modern boundary around it, the other, in which the site was situated, was effectively *hegge* or *copt hay* from the late 11th century onwards, as it had the ditched and embanked enclosure (discussed below under Phase II), and so it is assumed that it is the southern field that was Copt Hay from the beginning.

[79] Bodleian tithe maps, 381.

[80] For derivation of the meaning of Copt Hay see E. Ekwall, *The Oxford Dictionary of English Place Names* (4th Ed. 1960) and A. H. Smith, *English Place-Name Elements*, Part 1 (P.N. Soc., XXV : 1956).

[81] For a discussion of Wellow and other Nottinghamshire sites with ' hay ' place names see M. W. Barley, ' Cistercian Land Clearances of Nottinghamshire ; Three Deserted Villages and the Moated Successor ', *Nottingham Med. Stud.*, 1 (1957), 83–84.

[82] This was not the only Medieval field name to survive ; several of the 30 12th and 13th century names of Tetsworth fields (from Bodleian MS. chs. Oxon. 631–634. *Rotuli Hundredorum*, II, 820 and *Thame Cartulary*) can be located on the 1839 tithe map (see footnote 79 above).

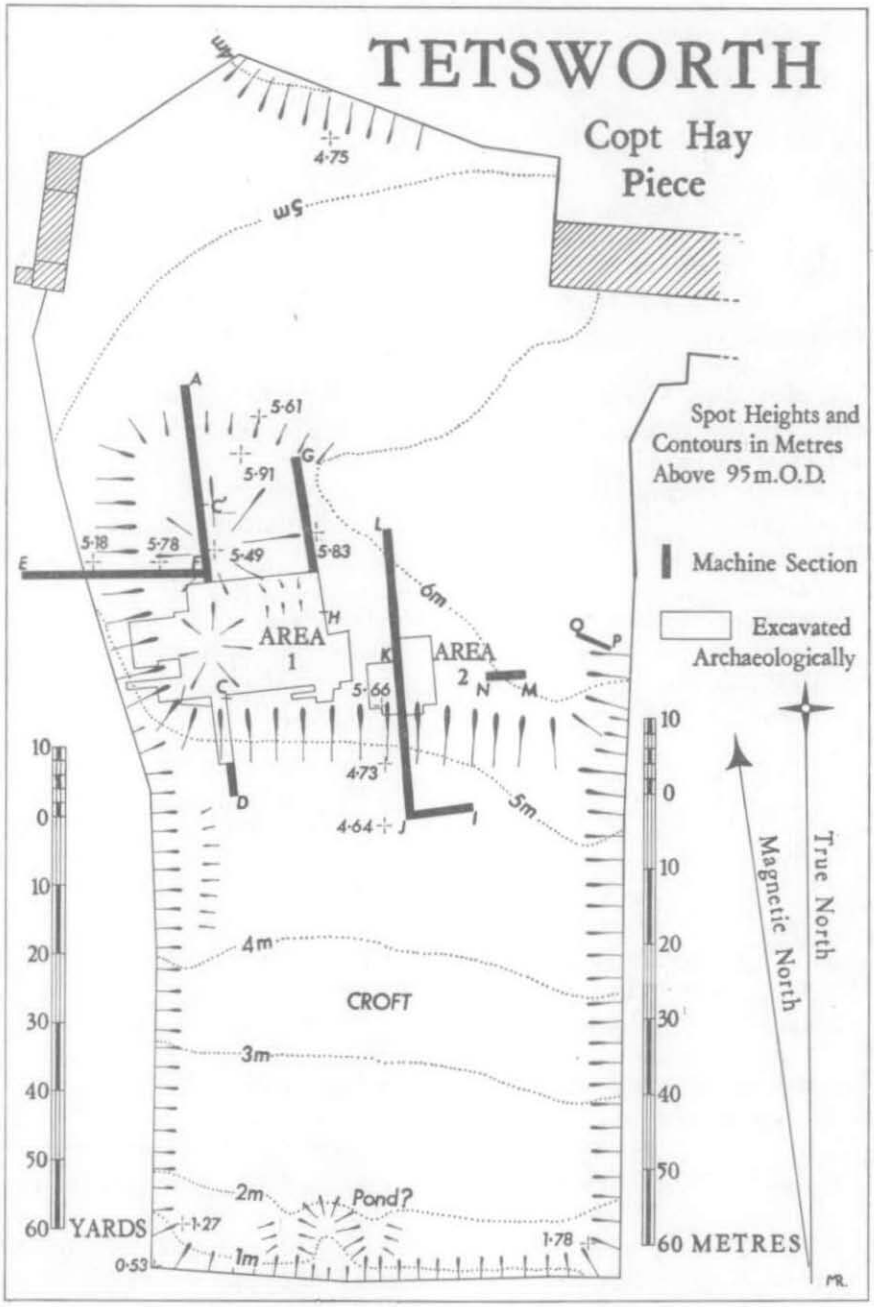

FIG. 2
Field Survey.

THE EXCAVATION

LOCATION AND METHOD

An area of 280 square metres was excavated in the south-west corner of the embanked enclosure, and two sections were cut across the bank during the summer of 1971 (Area 1 on Fig. 2).

This work was carried out entirely by hand, using the open plan excavation technique. Apart from the sides of the trench, sections were only left standing whilst a particular feature or structure was being excavated ; before continuing downwards on to earlier features, the section would be drawn, levelled and then demolished. When the earlier features were excavated, the section line would be maintained, and the whole process repeated. All stones, including rubble scatter, were planned and have been shown on the plans.

The work of the summer revealed a surprising depth of topsoil over the site, and when, in the spring of 1972, Area 1 was extended eastwards (shown on Area 2 trench plans and discussed under Area 2), it was removed by machine. Also at Easter, machine trenches were dug over much of the site due to be destroyed. They were all cut right down to the natural clay and have been located by the letters at either end shown on the field plan (FIG. 2) and also their section drawings.

The excavation was extended either side of one of these trenches. The topsoil was removed by machine and then excavation proceeded as for the first area. (Area 2 on Fig. 2.) In this case the limits of rubble spreads only were drawn, the rubble being much more dense.

AREA 1 (for location see field survey, Fig. 2)

Six phases of occupation emerged stratigraphically in this area, ranging in date from Roman to 14th century. The Phases are the same as the site Phases.

Phase I (Plan, Fig. 3 ; Sections A–D, Q–R, E[1]–D[1], Figs. 10–12)

The earliest archaeological feature of Area I was a shallow (40 cm. deep) Roman gully, feature 102, running roughly east-west. It was 80 cm. wide and filled with a greenish-yellow rather sandy clay, similar to the weathered sub-soil on some parts of the site. In plan, there seems to be evidence of it being recut on a line slightly diverging at one point from the original. The only finds from it were two sherds of Roman pottery.

The Roman ditch was underneath the pre-medieval topsoil, layers 41 and 45 on the sections, all other features from this phase being within 41 and therefore later.

Close to the gully was a small burnt area, feature 103, consisting of small particles of clay (2–3 mm.), fired red and black. Contemporary with feature 103 were a number of small stake- and post-holes. They were all filled with the same burnt material, indicating that it had originally covered a much larger area, but whether the post-holes had cut the burnt area, or the burning occurred just after the removal of the posts is uncertain. No structure can be postulated

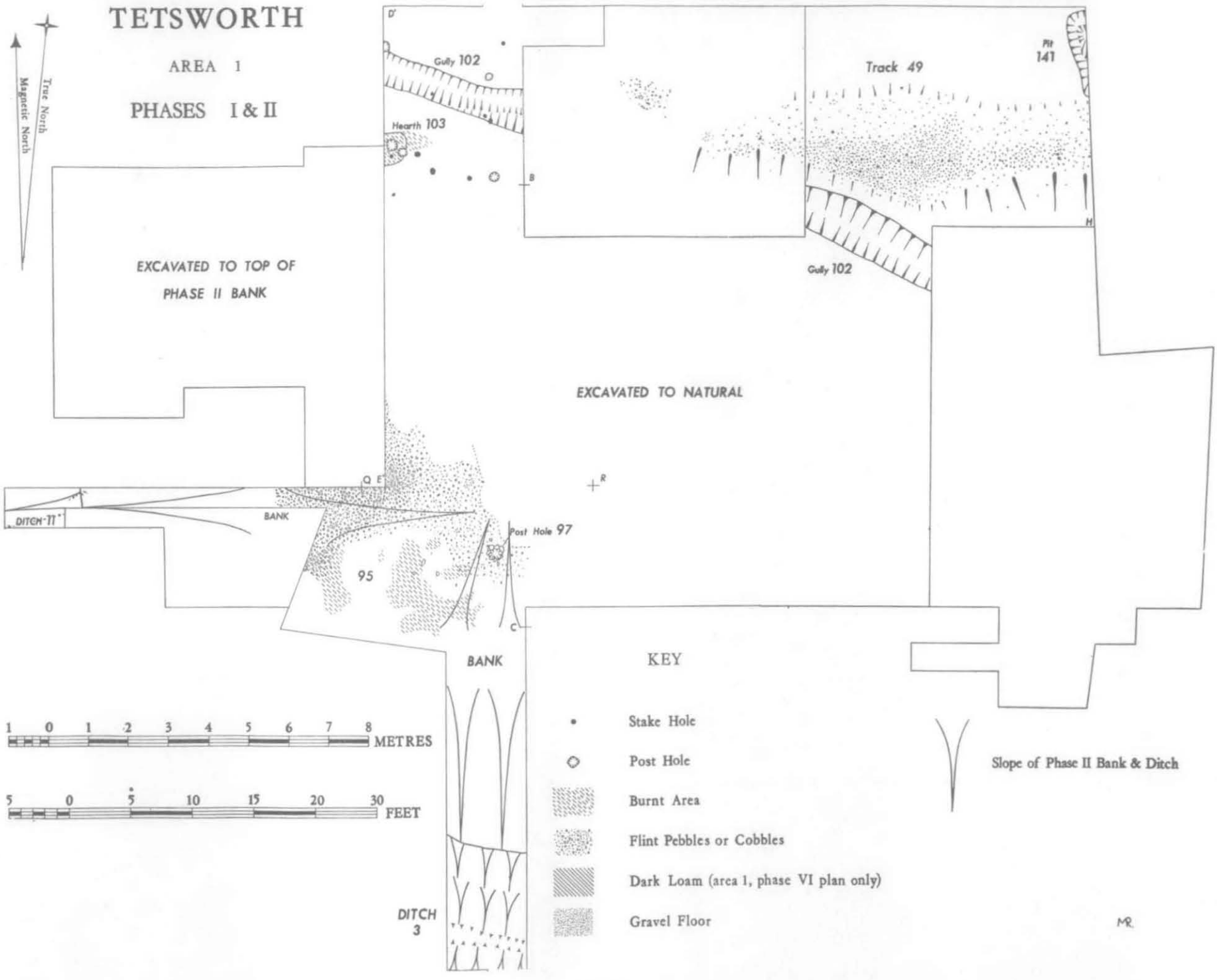
TETSWORTH
AREA 1
PHASES I & II
Magnetic North
True North
D
Gully 102
Hearth 103
B
Track 49
Pit 141
H
Gully 102
EXCAVATED TO TOP OF PHASE II BANK
EXCAVATED TO NATURAL
Q
E
R
DITCH 11
BANK
Post Hole 97
95
C
BANK
DITCH 3
1 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 METRES
5 0 5 10 15 20 30 FEET
KEY
Stake Hole
Post Hole
Burnt Area
Flint Pebbles or Cobbles
Dark Loam (area 1, phase VI plan only)
Gravel Floor
Slope of Phase II Bank & Ditch
MR

FIG. 3

for them as tree roots had caused disturbance in this area ; distinguishing between the post-holes and roots was sometimes difficult. The only finds from feature 103 were two 3rd–4th century Roman sherds.

To the south of 103 was a rather irregular shaped area of flint cobbling, layer 96. It was about five metres across, and the flints set into the natural clay. (Sections Q–R, E¹–D¹.) Sloping up on to it from the south were a number of burnt patches, feature 95, and they were within the old topsoil, layer 41. A single clay-filled post-hole cut the cobbles.

The cobbles seem to have been a yard surface, but the burnt areas are rather large and irregular for hearths. As well as residual Roman pottery, some 11th century pottery was recovered from and on top of the cobbles.

Both these features, and feature 103 to the north, were covered by a thin topsoil.

Phase II (Plan, Fig. 3 ; Sections A–D, E–F, Q–R, Figs. 10–12)

Running along the southern and eastern edges of Area 1 was a large ditch and bank. One trench was extended through this from the southern edge of Area 1, and two were excavated from the eastern edge.

The first of these trenches (FIG. 3) was 2 m. wide, and was excavated by hand down to the natural surface as far as the centre of the ditch. This was later extended by machine to complete the section through the ditch.

In this section, the ditch, running east–west, had been dug 1·9 m. below the top of the pre-medieval ground surface, and was 4·2 m. wide. It had a V-shaped profile. The spoil from the ditch had been piled up to form a clay bank to the north of it, layers 40, 80, 81 and 82 in section, sealing the old ground surface, 41. The bank was 7 m. wide and survived to a height of 50 cm. above the old ground surface. The Phase I cobbles and burnt area were sealed beneath the bank.

The ditch had been very cleanly backfilled with white clay from the bank, layer 3/5. A few sherds were impressed into its surface, but apart from them, only the occasional greenish fleck of charcoal or snail shell enabled it to be distinguished from the natural clay. There were only slight traces of silting in the ditch, layer 3/9 which consisted of a mixture of old topsoil, flinty yellow clay from the bank, and limestone fragments from a band of limestone chippings in the natural clay. Although not shown in the section, in some places this layer reached the bottom of the ditch, so that there can be no doubt about its depth. It indicates that the ditch had been partially backfilled from the bank very soon after it had been dug, with very little erosion of the sides, and no finds or black silt accumulating in the bottom. The later history of the partially backfilled ditch has been included in Phase III and later.

The pottery beneath the bank could all be 11th century. That from the very top of 3/5 was 12th century, but could have reached there during the Phase III recut.

The second section across the bank to the ditch, also dug by hand, was where the ditch had turned northwards (Ditch 11 on plan, Fig. 3) and only a short

length of bank section (FIG. 11, Q–R) has been published, showing the Phase I cobbles, 96, sealed beneath it. Here the bank, of white clay, layer 40, survived to a height of 80 cm. and was 8·5 m. wide. The western edge only of the ditch was excavated. The old topsoil, layer 41, abruptly stopped at the ditch edge whilst the white clay of layer 40 above it ran into the ditch fill, which was identical to the natural clay beneath the old ground surface. Unlike the first section, there was no flinty clay in the bank where it met the ditch, nor was there a band of limestone chippings in the natural, and there was no other trace of the side of the ditch, despite excavation into the natural clay to try to show it up.

The third section across the ditch and bank was an east-west machine section (FIG. 10, E–F) to the north. In this, the ditch had been dug 1·5 m. below the old ground surface, and was probably about 4 m. wide, but its western edge had been disturbed by a modern hedge. To the east, the bank was made up of layers 3 and 4, and also probably including part of layer 5, the topsoil underneath. It was 50 m. high and 8 m. wide. Again the ditch had been backfilled with white clay from the bank. No finds were recovered from this section.

Apart from the ditch and bank, the only feature in Area 1 which could date from Phase II, was a clay-filled pit, 141, sealed beneath road 49. (Section, Fig. 10, G–H.) It produced no finds, however, and so might date from Phase I.

Phase II, Area 1, was in the south-west corner of a ditched and embanked enclosure, which possibly extended 100 m. northwards (out of the line of the motorway) and eastwards into Area 2. There were no significant features inside the enclosure, and not long after it had been dug, the ditch was partially backfilled from the bank.

Phase III. (Plans, Figs. 3 and 4 ; Sections, Figs. 10–12)

The earliest feature of this phase was a ditch, 19, which ran parallel to the northern edge of Area 1. It was sectioned by two machine trenches (FIG. 10, G–H ; FIG. 12, A–D). The first of these showed the ditch to be about 3 m. wide, flat bottomed and almost 1 m. deep. The spoil from it had been cast to the south, forming a layer of clay, 49 in section. This had been covered with small flint pebbles to form a road surface (shown on Phase II plan, Fig. 3, as road 49).

In the second section the ditch (here called 6), was just over 3 m. wide and 1·20 m. deep. Again the spoil had been cast to the south, layer 44, but was disturbed by the Phase IV hollow, and there was no trace of any gravel surfacing. The relationship of this ditch to the Phase II bank is uncertain. If it had continued westwards on the same line it would have cut the bank, but this does not show as a surface feature and the two sides of the trench of section E–F (FIG. 10) hint at terminating or turning northwards. The ditch did not continue eastwards to section J–L (FIG. 12).

The ditch and road surface are ascribed to the beginning of Phase III because only a single sherd of coarse ware was recovered from beneath the road. It it had been any later there should have been considerably more pottery scattered around on the site to end up sealed below the road.

Also at the beginning of Phase III, the Phase II ditch was recut, this showing

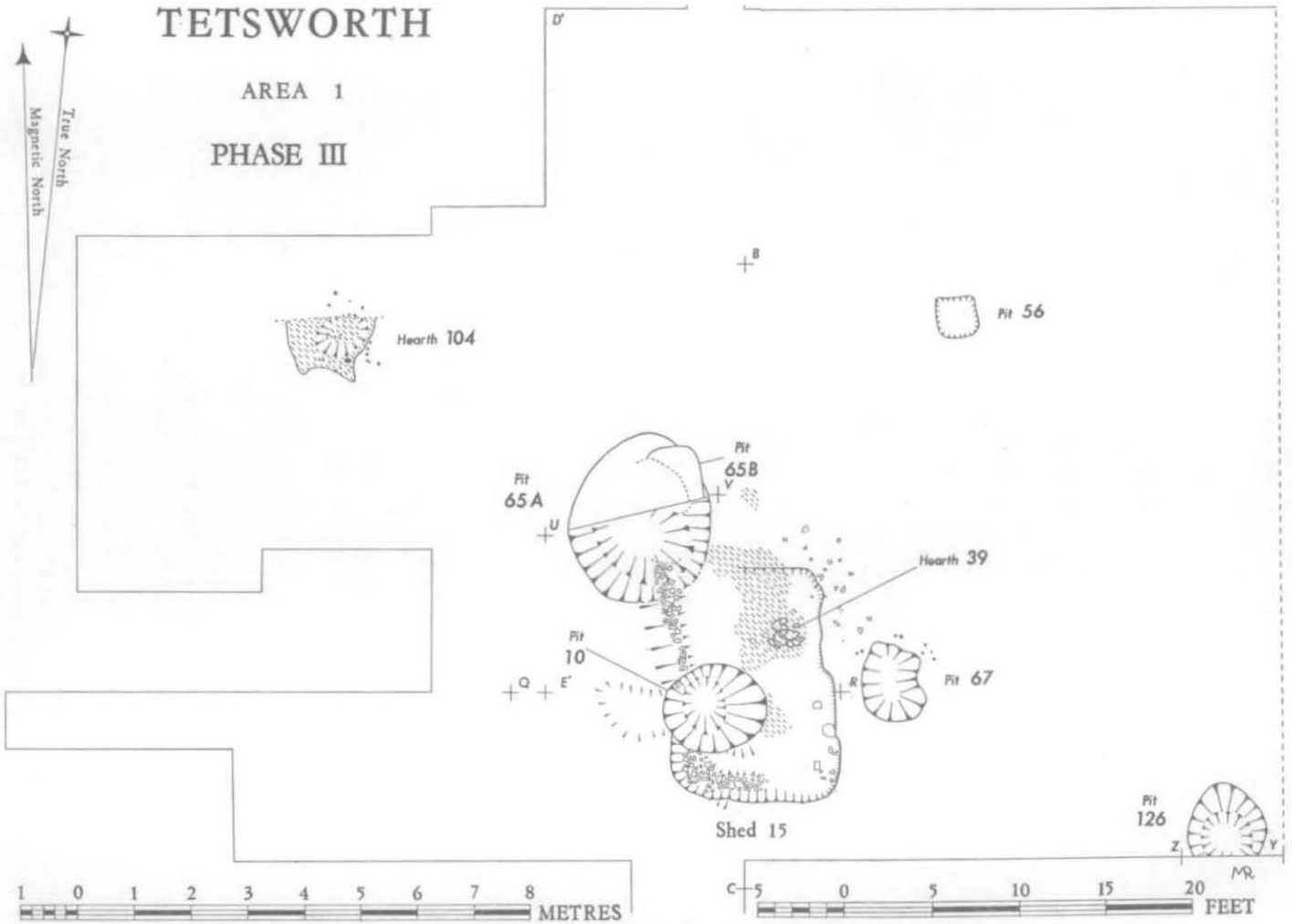
TETSWORTH
AREA 1
PHASE III
True North
Magnetic North
D'
B
Hearth 104
Pit 56
Pit 65B
Pit 65A
V
U
Hearth 39
Pit 10
Q
E'
R
Pit 67
Shed 15
Pit 126
Z
Y
MR
C
1 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 METRES
5 0 5 10 15 20 FEET

FIG. 4

in section A–D (FIG. 12) where layer 3/4 cuts the backfill, 3/5, and 3/6, which is its later silting. This would have given a ditch about 1·25 m. below the then ground surface.

The result of this ditching activity was that Area 1 was surrounded on its northern, western and southern sides by ditches of roughly equal depths, and entered by a track from the east.

The earliest Phase III feature was an oval pit 2½ m. across and one m. deep, pit 65A. It cut the edge of the Phase II bank, and was probably a cess pit, with green and brown flecks of iron panning in the clay layers that filled it. (Section U–V, Fig. 11.)

Cutting pit 65A was a rectangular feature, 15, 2 m. × 4 m. and 30 cm. deep. (PL. II, A.) Along the bottom of its western and part of its southern edge were footings of small limestone. The bottom layer in this feature, 72/2–15/1 (Sections Q–R, B–C, Figs. 11, 12) was very black loam, with many red flecks of burnt clay, charcoal, and much pot. On top of this was 72/1, a dirty brown clay layer. This feature has been interpreted as a sunken-floored shed, probably with a timber frame resting on the stone footings. No axial post-holes were detected.

On top of 15 was a hearth, 39. (PL. II, B). It consisted of a limestone slab about 0·5 m. across and broken into many pieces by the heat. Around it was an area where the soil had been reddened by burning. There was a good scatter of broken cooking-pots around 39.

Cutting the burnt layer from 39 was pit 10 (Sections Q–R, B–C, Figs. 11, 12) which was one m. deep. It was probably a cess pit, the bottom 50 cm., layer 10/3, being light grey with green flecking from iron panning. A second pit, 65B (Section U–V, Fig. 11) cut 65A. Both this pit and the top of 10 (10/1) were filled in with white clay which marked the start of Phase IV.

Another feature dating from Phase II was hearth 104, a shallow scoop 1 m. across with a burnt area emanating from it and a number of stake-holes cutting it. It had been filled in at the beginning of Phase IV.

Assigned to this Phase on the basis of its pottery, was 56, a small pit. Two other features probably belonging to this phase are pit 126 (FIG. 11, Y–Z), a cess pit very similar to 10, and pit 67, an irregular-shaped pit 30 cm. deep filled with a mixture of fine charcoal and yellow clay. There had been a row of stakes around its northern edge.

There was quite a large black occupation spread around the most intensive area of activity, but only that part of it sealed beneath hearth 39's burnt spread, layer 64, can definitely be assigned to this phase.

On the basis of the pottery, Phase III began some time during the 12th century and ended around the end of the 12th century.

Phase IV (Plan, Fig. 5 ; Sections, Figs. 11, 12)

A hollow area, about 7 m. across, had been scooped out in the shelter of the south-west corner of the Phase II bank, and the clay from it had been piled up to make northern and southern edges. (Section E^1–D^1, Fig. 12.) Clay layer 68 formed the southern edge of the hollow, but to the north the clay was so

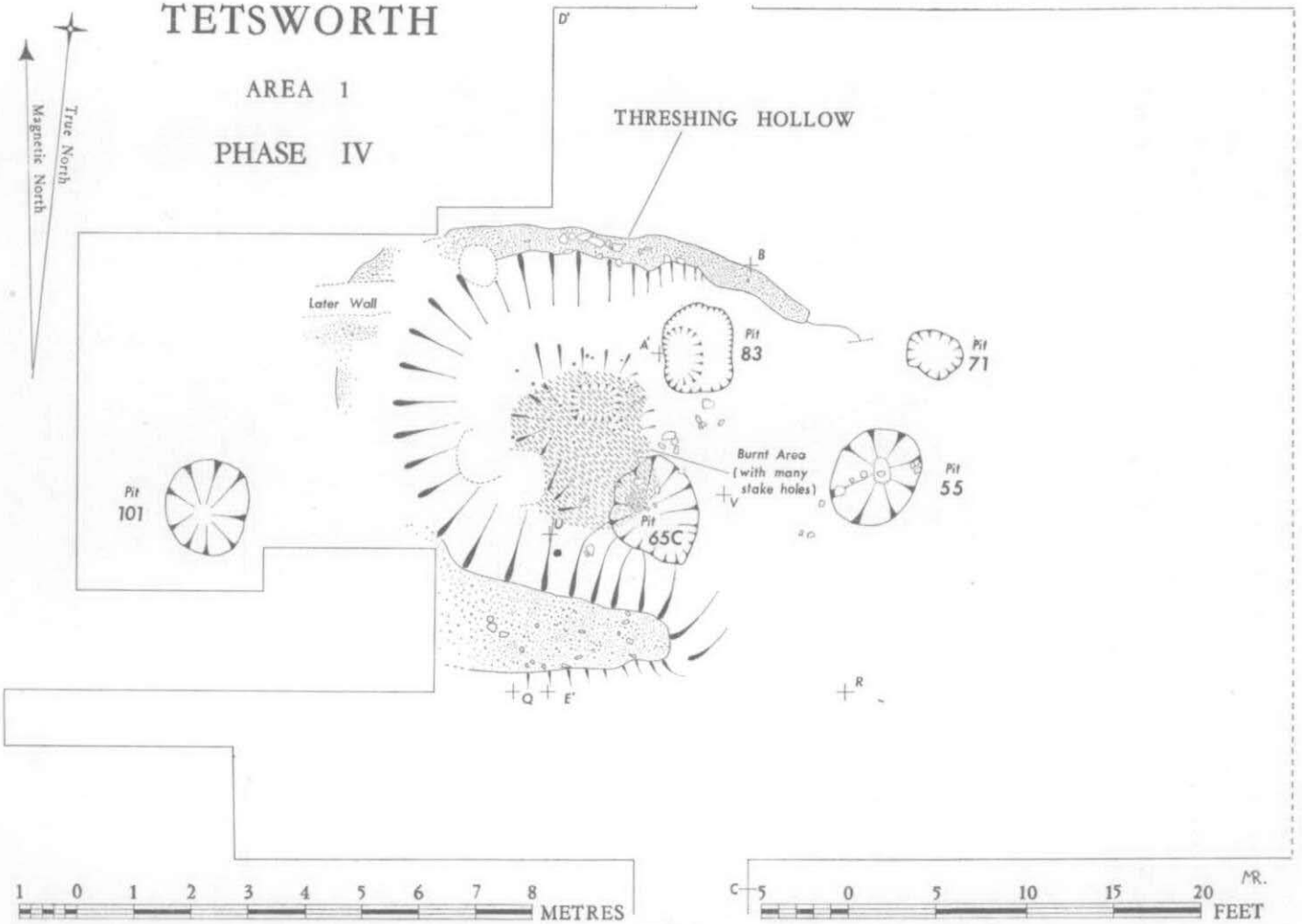
TETSWORTH
AREA 1
PHASE IV
True North
Magnetic North
THRESHING HOLLOW
Later Wall
Pit 83
Pit 71
Pit 101
Burnt Area (with many stake holes)
Pit 55
Pit 65C
D'
B
A'
C
Q
E'
R
V
1 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 METRES
5 0 5 10 15 20 FEET
MR.

FIG. 5

mixed with that from the Phase II bank and the Phase III ditch as to make it indistinguishable and so it has all been called layer 44. Layer 68 filled the last of the Phase III pits, 10 and 65B. Around the southern and northern edges was a layer of flint and gravel, 48 and 34, which sloped into the hollow. Some larger pieces of limestone had been set into it. Not much of it remained on the western side except where it filled a Phase III hearth, 104. The eastern side of the hollow was left open.

In the centre was an area where the clay had been burnt red, layer 76/5, representing at least two phases of burning. On top of this was a clay floor, 76/4, with another layer of burning on top, sealed by 76/2, a third clay floor with burning. In each case the burnt area was about 2·5 m. across the centre and had been cut by a large number of stake-holes. The clay flooring petered out to the east and the burnt layers were replaced by an occupation layer with much charcoal in it, layer 79. (Section B–C, Fig. 12).

There was no industrial waste and little domestic rubbish associated with the hollow, but much carbonized grain. A likely use for it was as a threshing floor, with the burnt areas being due to the burning of the chaff, and a new clay floor put down each year.[83]

As well as the threshing hollow, a number of small pits date to this phase. Towards the beginning of Phase V another hole, 65C, was dug into pit 65A (Section U–V, Fig. 11), this time an irregular-shaped scoop 40 cm. deep at its southern end. A layer of charcoal, 65/2, extended into it from one of the burnt areas.

Pit 101 was an oval scoop 1·5 m. across and about 30 cm. deep filled with greyish-white clay with some flecks of fired clay. Pit 55 was roughly the same diameter and 25 cm. deep. It contained much of the skull of a cow. Pit 83 was sub-rectangular, 40 cm. deep and filled with mixed yellow-brown gravelly clay (FIG. 11, A^1–B^1). It had been dug after the hollow had fallen out of use. Subsequently the hollow was filled with mixed gravelly brown clayey loam, Layer 57 (FIG. 12, E^1–D^1), on top of which a black layer, 56, collected in places.

Late 12th century pottery was included in the construction of the hollow and its use certainly extended into the 13th century.

Phase V (Plan, Fig. 6 ; Sections, Figs. 11, 12)

On top of the back-filled hollow was a roughly square building, A, which would have had an interior width of 7 m. (PL. III, A). Its northern wall was of very rough unmortared limestone rubble only about two courses thick, and probably never standing much higher. Its southern wall had been robbed away, leaving only a little rubble and an edge cut into the clay bank. Its eastern edge had a beam slot 15 cm. wide, the bottom 5 cm. where it cut the natural clay surviving, and also seven stake-holes parallel with it. Little survived of its western end, only a few stones running south from 91. There was a doorway in A's northern wall, and part of the interior had been cobbled with flints. Unfortunately no other floors survived, the occupation spread inside A, layer 46, (Section B–C, Fig. 12) being continuous with the post-demolition layer.

[83] For a discussion of threshing floors, see p. 74.

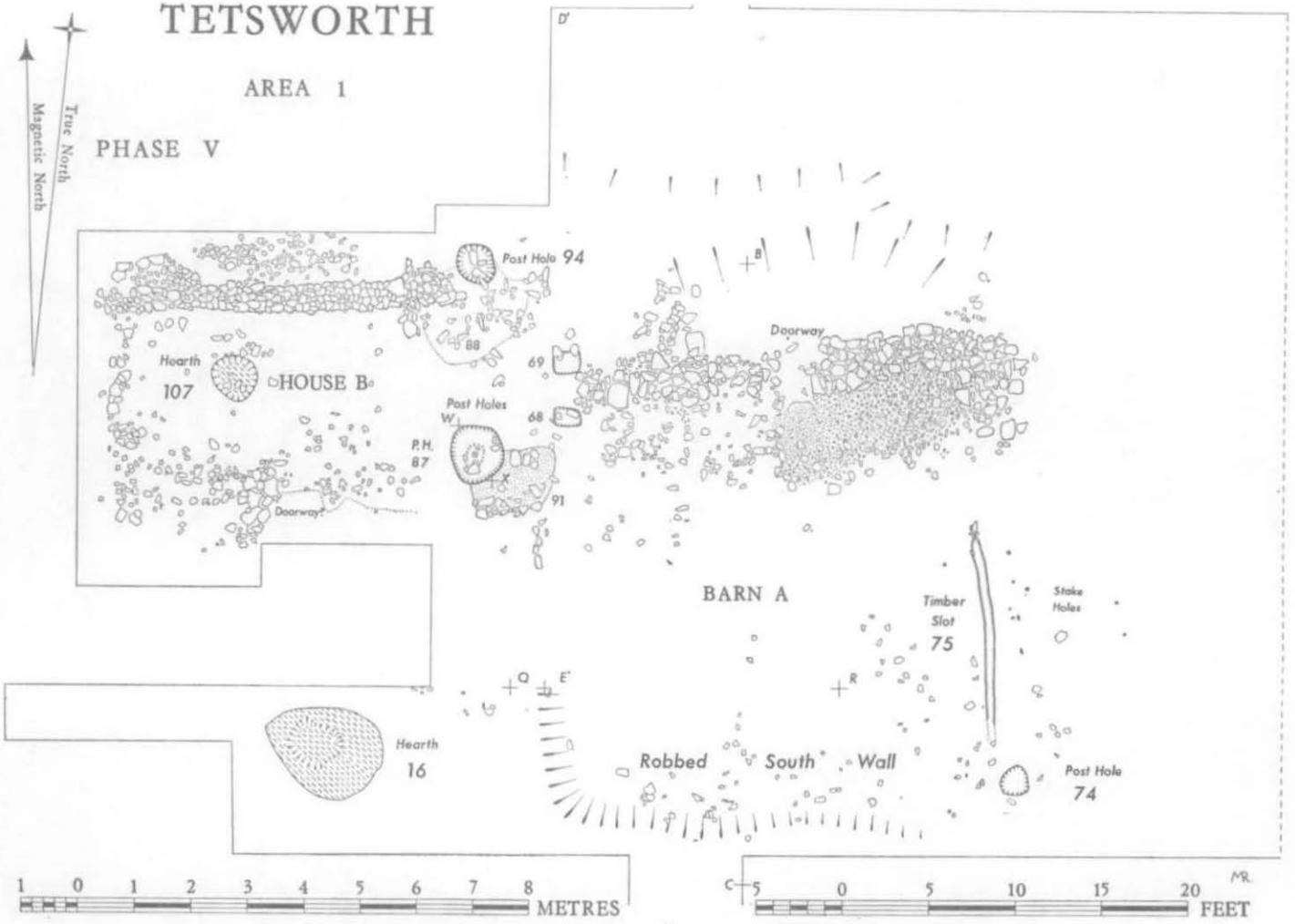
TETSWORTH
AREA 1
PHASE V
True North
Magnetic North
D
Post Hole 94
88
Hearth
107
HOUSE B
Post Holes
W
X
P.H.
87
Doorway
69
68
91
B
Doorway
BARN A
Timber
Slot
75
Stake
Holes
R
Q
E
Hearth
16
Robbed
South
Wall
Post Hole
74
C
MR.
1 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8
METRES
5 0 5 10 15 20
FEET

FIG. 6

The roofing of this structure is problematical. To hold supports there were two rectangular post-holes, 68 and 69, at its north-west corner and a single, rather irregularly-shaped one, 74, at its south-east corner. None could be found at either of the other corners. It is likely that A was an east-west gable-ended building, its weight being carried by substantial timbers from sleeper beams on its north and south walls, whilst the end walls were quite flimsy. It is rather too wide to have been spanned by single timbers, so there were probably some internal supports, although no trace of any was found. A single row of uprights along the middle of the building would have been sufficient to carry the weight of the roof. There would have been no motion on these, only vertical thrust, so deep post-holes would not have been needed as they are for corner posts.

Adjoining the western end of A, but partly offset to the north, was a second building, B, again probably an east-west gable-ended structure, 2·7 m. × 6·8 m. internally, sharing its eastern wall with A. The layer of white clay, 53 in section (FIG. 12, E^1–D^1), was connected with its construction, and the northern wall rested on top of it. The northern wall of B was much better than that of A, its pitched limestone being well laid and mortared (PL. III, B). It was 50 cm. wide and stood 25 cm. high, which was probably almost the full height, since the top of the wall as excavated looked as if it would form a very good footing for a sleeper beam. Its southern wall had been damaged by robbing and the western wall by erosion into the ditch to the west. This might have begun to occur during the lifetime of the building, the group of stones at the north-west corner being reinforced. All that remained internally was a small hearth, 107, but not far outside a possible doorway in its southern wall was a second hearth, 16, with a broken but reasonably complete 13th century cooking-pot (FIG. 19, no. 57) in it. No roof tiles, even ridge tiles, were found in Area 1, so buildings A and B were probably thatched.

The Phase II bank must have been reduced to the height to which it stood in 1971 by the beginning of Phase V, because house B did not respect it but went westwards over the top of it almost into the ditch.

Cutting the eastern end of the south wall of B (where it was wider and the stones had been set into a layer of mortar, 96) was a post-hole, 87. Most of the eastern end of the north wall had been removed by a disturbance, feature 88, and on excavation this resolved itself into another post-hole, 94. The shape of the post showed clearly in the bottom of 94 ; it had been rectangular, 14 cm. × 30 cm. The section of post-hole 87 has been illustrated (FIG. 11, W–X). A possible explanation for these post-holes is that when A was demolished, B was left standing, and its eastern wall, previously shared with A, replaced.

After the demolition of A an occupation layer of black loam with much domestic rubbish continuous with that inside A rapidly built up over it. Cutting this, and with an even blacker fill, were two shallow oval scoops, pits 26 and 27 (FIG. 7) which may date from the end of this phase or from Phase VI. They were only 10 cm. deep, 26 being 2·2 m. across and 27·3 m. across.

Phase V dates to the 13th century.

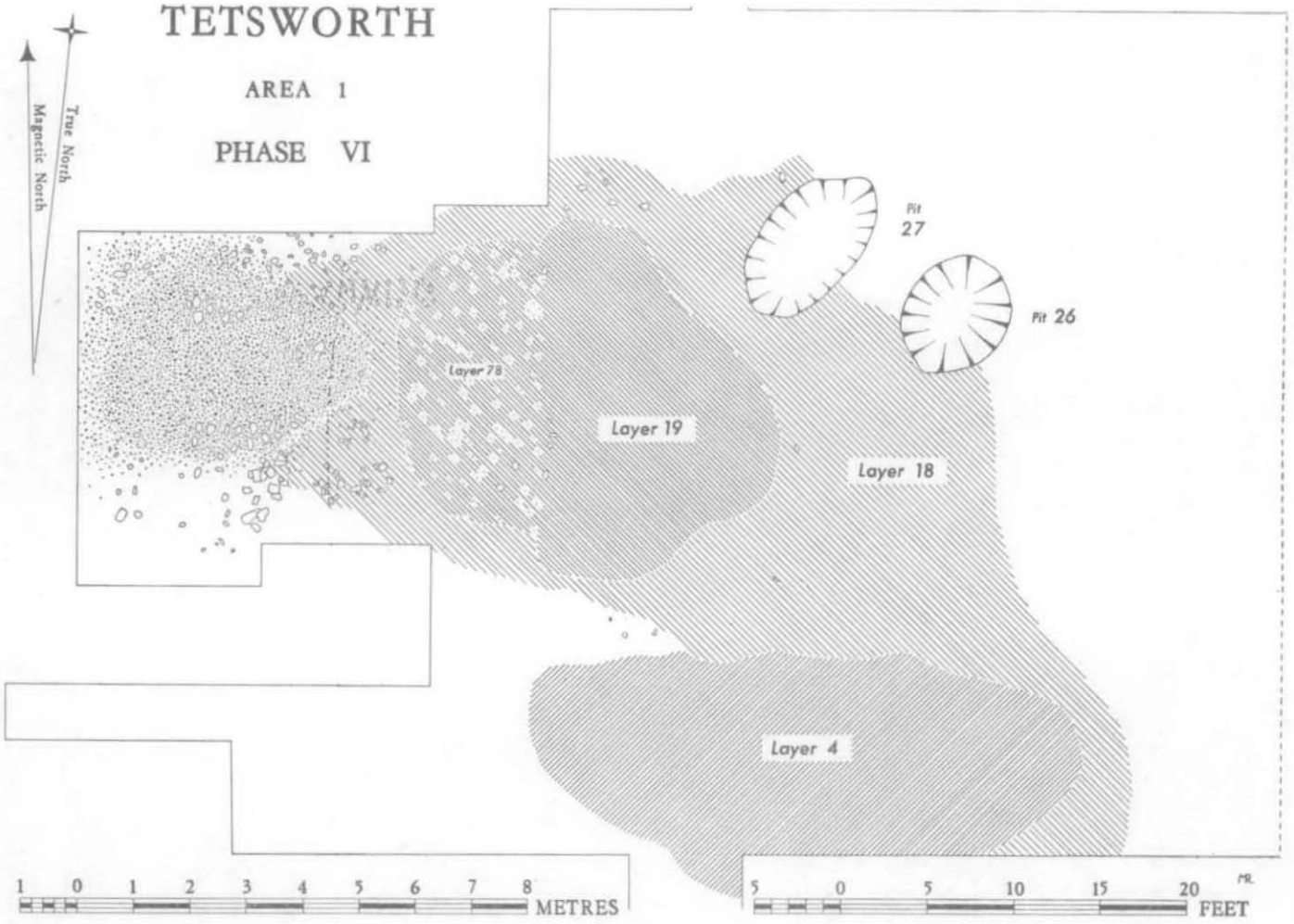
TETSWORTH
AREA 1
PHASE VI
True North
Magnetic North
Pit 27
Pit 26
Layer 78
Layer 19
Layer 18
Layer 4
1 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 METRES
5 0 5 10 15 20 FEET

FIG. 7

Phase VI (Plan, Fig. 7)

On top of the demolished remains of B was an area of flint cobbles. These were directly under the modern turf. However, since the hollow where A had been was in the lee of the corner of the Phase II bank, it filled with a black occupation layer, 18, to the height to which the bank was still standing. Two shallow scoops cutting this layer, 26 and 27, may date from this or the previous phase.

The robbing of the south wall of A showed up in plan as a much blacker area, layer 4, because of the domestic rubbish which had accumulated in the resultant scoop. All that showed of this robbing in section (FIG. 12, B–C) was the edge cut into the Phase II bank.

The fill of the Phase IV hollow gradually settled and filled with a blacker loam than 18, layer 19. Where this had been inside B, there were mortar flecks in it from the demolition of B, layer 78. The result of this secondary fill of the hollow was that during excavation, the Phase IV feature began to give an indication of its presence before the location of the Phase V structures which were actually on top of it.

Phase VI dates from the late 13th–14th century.

AREA 2 (For location see field survey, Fig. 2)

This area was excavated at Easter 1972. The topsoil was removed by machine. Four phases of occupation emerged stratigraphically, ranging in date from possibly Roman to 13th century. Phases I and II correspond to site Phases I and II. Phase III corresponds with site Phases III and IV, and Phase IV corresponds with site Phase V.

Phase I (Section J–L, Fig. 12)

The earliest archaeological feature was a U-shaped gully found in the bottom of the machine trench, and shown in oblique section (FIG. 12, J–L, gully 16). It ran north–south, and just before it entered the section it became deeper with undercut sides. Perhaps it was coming to a butt end and the undercutting was due to water retained in it. It produced no finds, but like gully 102 from Area 1, which was Roman, it was under the pre-Medieval topsoil, layer 12, and had a rather similar fill of sandy yellow clay, with grey silty lenses, but unlike 102 was rather flinty.

Phase II (Section J–L, Fig. 12)

The large ditch and bank continued eastwards from Area 1, and the machine section to the south of Area 2 cut across it. The ditch had been dug 1·9 m. below the top of the pre-Medieval ground surface, and was 4·3 m. wide. The spoil from it had been piled up to the north, forming a bank of white clay, layer 10.

The ditch showed signs of rapid silting and collapse of the sides, layers 2/6 and 2/8. As in Area 1, the ditch had been very cleanly backfilled with white clay from the bank, layer 2/4, not long after it had been dug. On top of 2/4

was a layer of dirty-white clay with flints, 2/3, which was under 2/2, grey-brown clay. Cutting 2/2, probably at quite a late date, was 2/1, a layer of brownish-black clayey loam, with flints at the bottom.

The bank, layer 10, had been cut by a small feature, 11, which was filled with brown clayey loam and bits of limestone. It is unlikely to have been for a post of a revetment to the bank, since it did not cut layer 12.

There were no finds from under the bank, and the only finds from the ditch were some coarse Medieval sherds of indeterminate date from layer 2/3.

Phase III (Plan, Fig. 8 ; Sections, Figs. 11, 12)

Where layer 12, the old ground surface, was not sealed beneath the Phase II bank, the brownish-black clayey loam contained occupation material including pottery. It is uncertain whether this represents occupation immediately after the construction of the Phase II ditch and bank, or activity just prior to the construction of house C.

On top of layers 10 and 12 (Section J–L) was a layer of fine yellow gravel, layer 14/5 (in Sections S–T, Fig. 11, the equivalent to 12 is 28, and 35 the gravel on top). The walls of building C cut this gravel, which formed its floor inside. The eastern wall of C, wall 18 (just missed by the machine trench) was of limestone rubble packed with clayey gravel. Although no obvious attempt had been made to face the stones, they had been well chosen and laid in courses, with the larger ones at the faces of the wall. It stood up to three courses high, a height of 20 cm., and its rubble footings were in a foundation trench 20 cm. deep (FIG. 11, Section S–T). The width of the wall was between 70 and 80 cm.

The north wall of C (FIG. 12, Section J–L, Wall 29) started westwards from the east wall with a similar cross section, but rapidly lost its footings, its stones only just being cut into 14/5, and narrowed to a width of 50 cm. It can be assumed that the southern wall did the same thing, but because it was on the crest of the Phase II bank it had suffered from erosion, and only survived at the extreme eastern end where the footings were deeper.

The south-west corner of C was not excavated, and all that survived of the north-west corner was a robber trench, 140, containing clayey gravel and limestone chips from the wall.

The gravel floor of house C had been laid before the house was built, and only survived at the eastern end where it was protected under the demolition rubble. Inside the house it was a good, solid layer about 5 cm. thick, but outside it was much more diffuse and mixed with soil. On this floor was a hearth, near the north-east corner of C, consisting of a fine charcoal spread with an area of more intense burning where the gravel had been reddened. Three ash-filled stake-holes cut the hearth.

The internal dimensions of C were 4·3 m. × 8·6 m.

It would be interesting to know to what height the stone walls of C stood. There was sufficient demolition rubble within Area 2 to rebuild the walls of that area to a height of about one metre. However, two things suggest that the eastern gable wall could have been in stone to roof height whilst the north

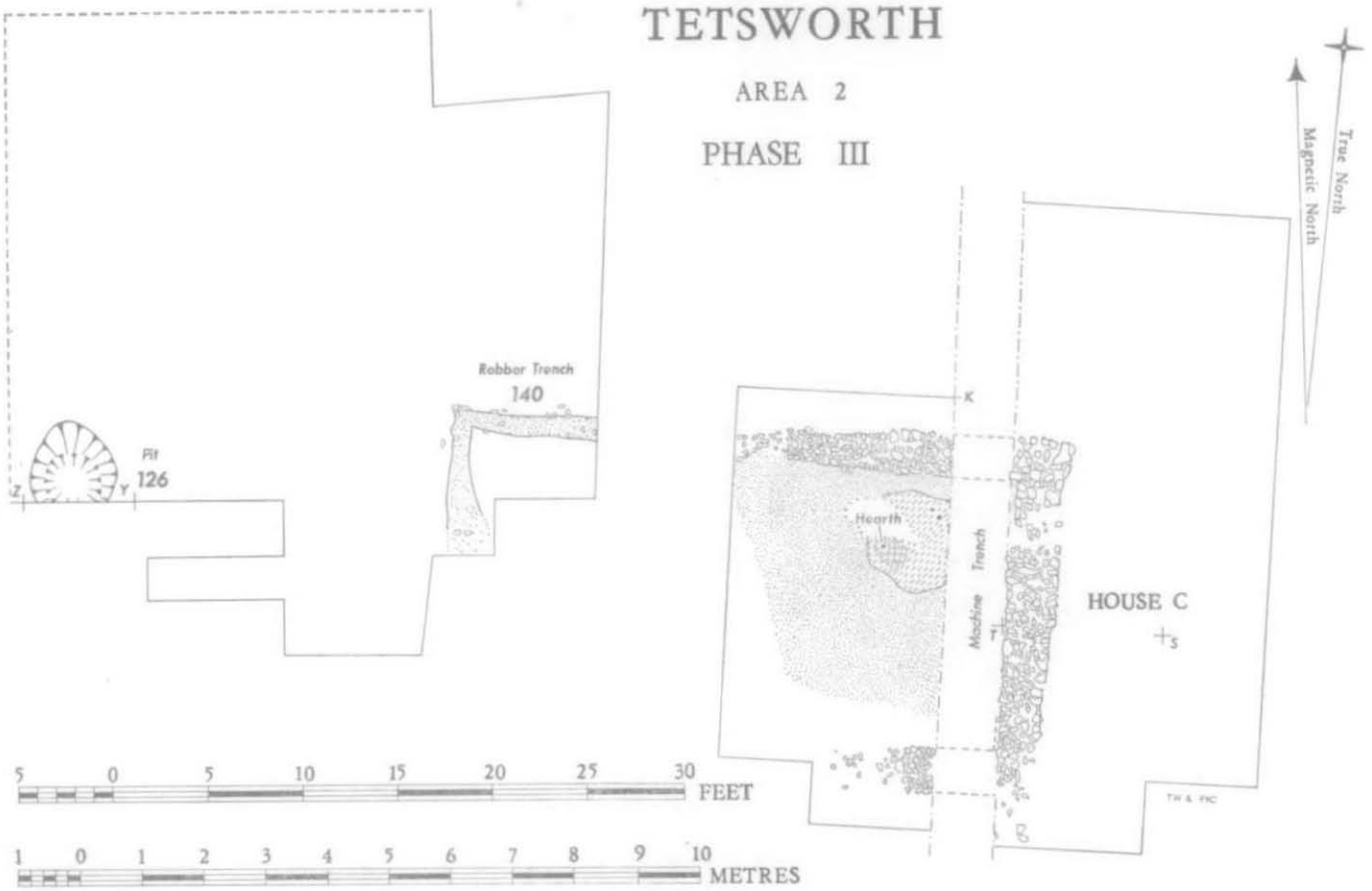
TETSWORTH
AREA 2
PHASE III
True North
Magnetic North
Robber Trench
140
Pit
126
Z
Y
K
Hearth
Machine Trench
HOUSE C
5 0 5 10 15 20 25 30 FEET
1 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 METRES

FIG. 8

and south walls were dwarf walls for sleeper beams. Firstly, the eastern wall was much more substantial than the other two, not only being wider but also having foundations. Secondly, the spread of rubble in this area was centred on the eastern wall. If the gable wall was entirely of stone, there was enough rubble to take it up to a height of at least two metres. The lack of any roof tiles suggests that it had a thatched roof.

Phase III is dated to the 12th century.

Phase IV (Plan, Fig. 9 ; Section, Fig. 12)

House C was demolished, and the rubble from it surfaced with flint pebbles to form a yard. In the exterior of Area 1 shown on the Area 2 plans, in places where there was no rubble, there was a surface of brown loam with gravel and many yellow clay flecks, which extended to the limits of the rubble. To the north of this was a burnt area about 1·5 m. across, feature 131.

Cutting the yard surface and the layers beneath it were two post-holes, 34 and 38, connected by a slot, 37. They had all been backfilled with the flint and rubble of the yard.

MACHINE TRENCHES (For location see field survey, Fig. 2)

Section A–D (FIG. 12)

This was continued northwards from Area 1 to investigate the hollow and bank to the north of Area 1 (see field survey, Fig. 2). Features in it not described under Area 1 are three small east-west ditches, 12, 13 and 16.

Ditches 12 and 13 were round bottomed, filled with grey clay and both about 40 cm. deep. Ditch 16 was V-shaped in profile, with a slot at the bottom, and cut 70 cm. into the natural clay. It had a layer of grey clay, 16/1, on top of a layer of green-flecked white clay, 16/2. Layer 14, flinty white clay, probably represents spoil dug out of the ditch and gives an idea of the depth from which it was cut. It is likely that this ditch is the same as 20 in section G–H (FIG. 10).

No finds were made from any of the three ditches. No explanation for the hollow and bank north of Area I was found.

Section G–H (FIG. 10)

This was a continuation of the section through track 49 northwards from Area 1. The only features not already described were 18, a lens of flinty clay, quite likely the upcast from a ditch not reached by this section, and 20, a V-shaped ditch at 80 cm. into the natural clay. It is quite likely to be the same ditch as 16 in section (FIG. 12) and had a similar fill of grey clay on top of green-flecked white clay.

Section J–L (FIG. 12)

This was a continuation of the section through Area 2 northwards and all that showed in it were two oblique features, probably gullies, 22 and 21/1, and cut through at right angles, a third, 21/3. The fill of 22 was yellow sand and

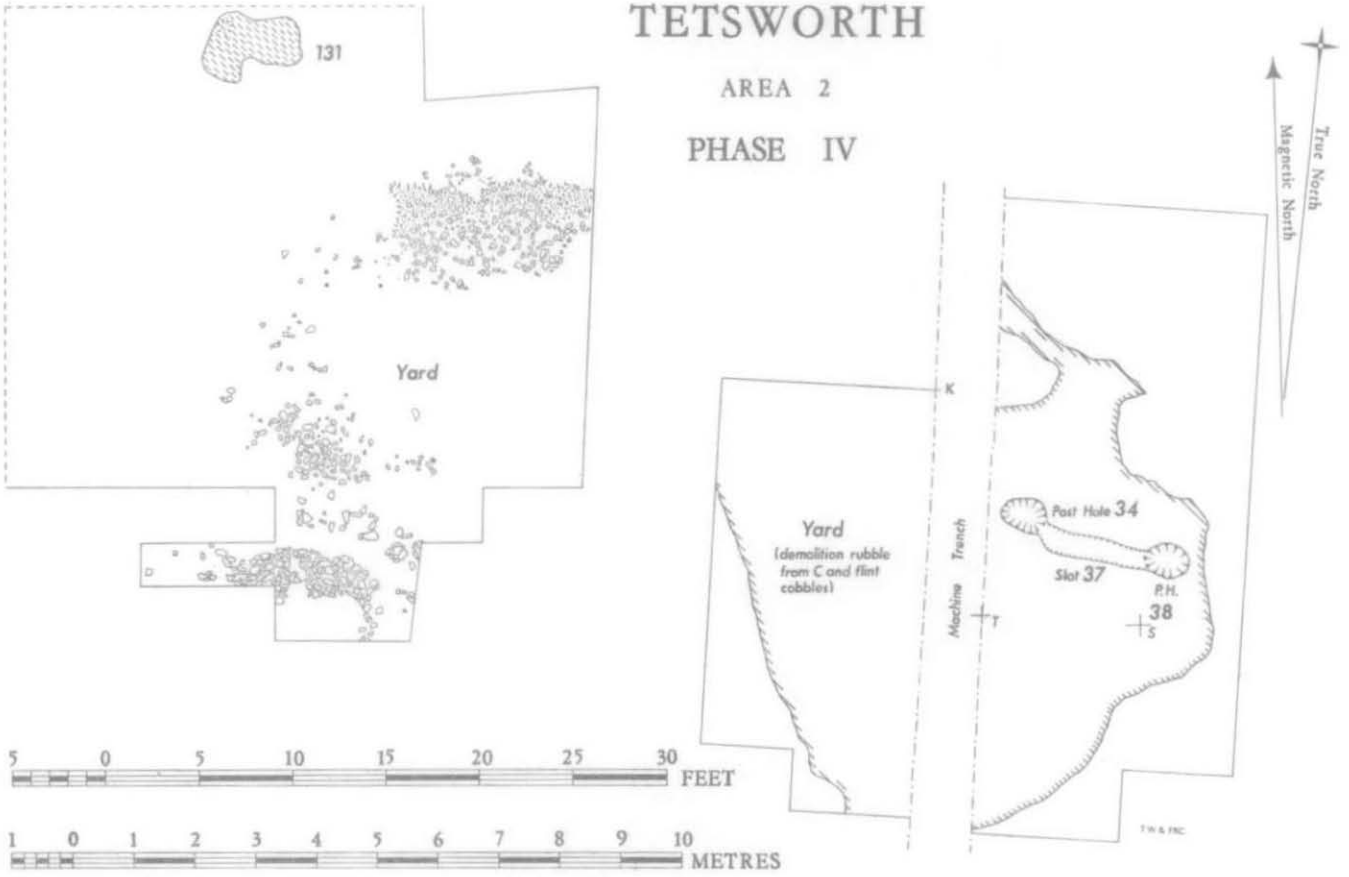
TETSWORTH
AREA 2
PHASE IV
131
Yard
Yard
(demolition rubble
from C and flint
cobbles)
Machine Trench
Post Hole 34
Slot 37
P.H.
38
True North
Magnetic North
5 0 5 10 15 20 25 30 FEET
1 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 METRES

FIG. 9

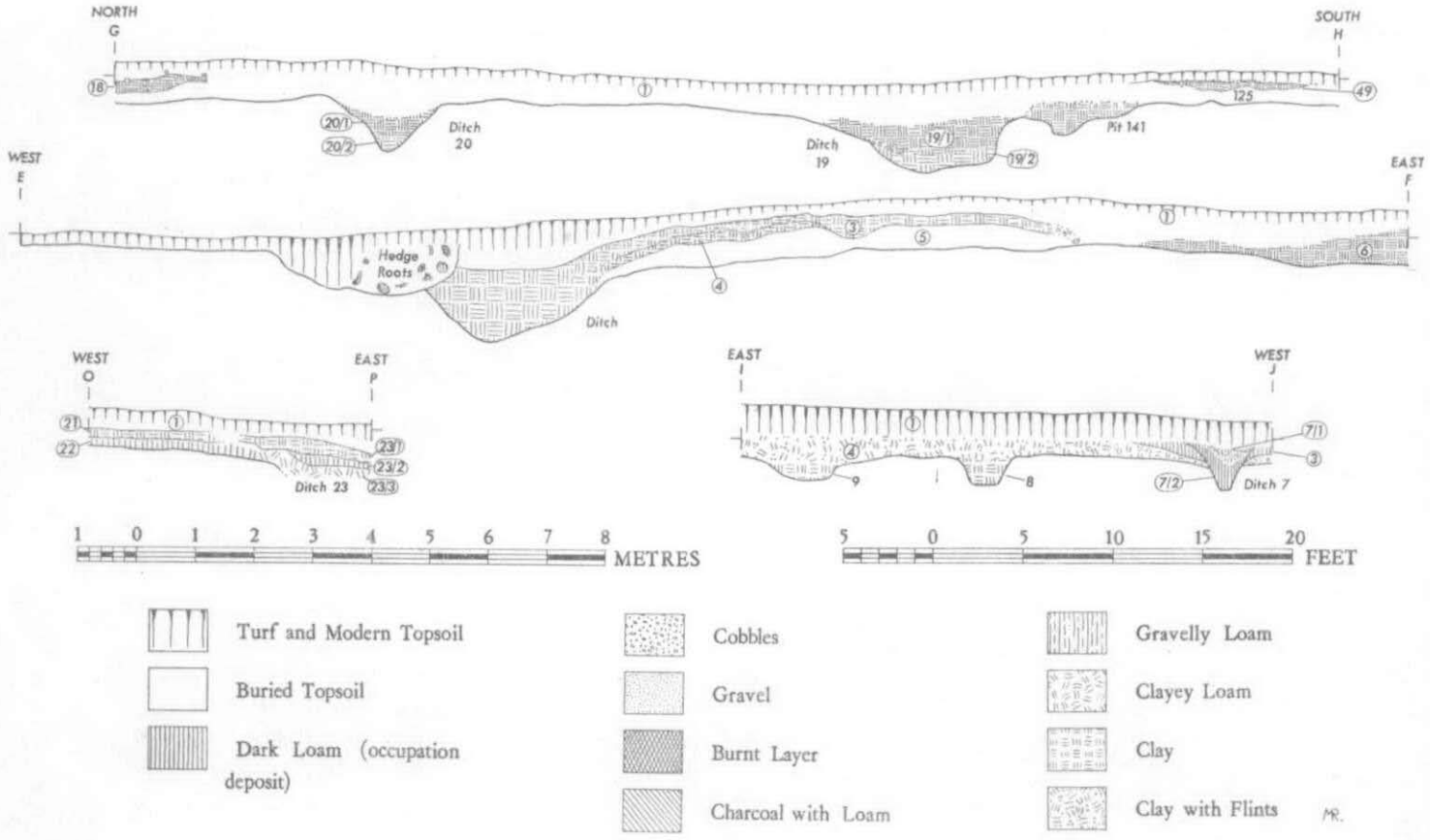

FIG. 10
Sections (G–H, E–F, O–P, I–J).

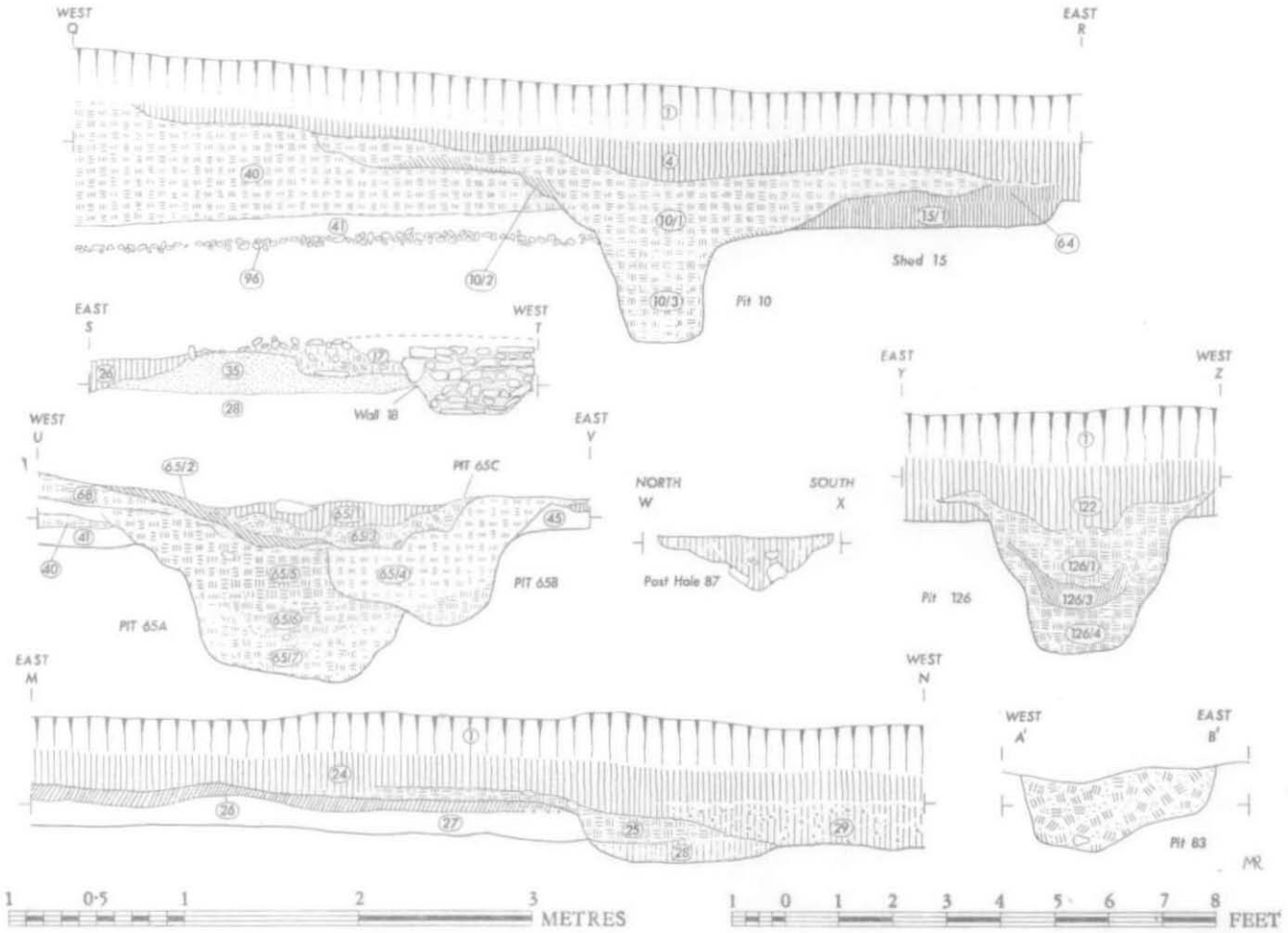

FIG. 11

Sections (Q–R, S–T, U–V, W–X, Y–Z, M–N, A¹–B¹).

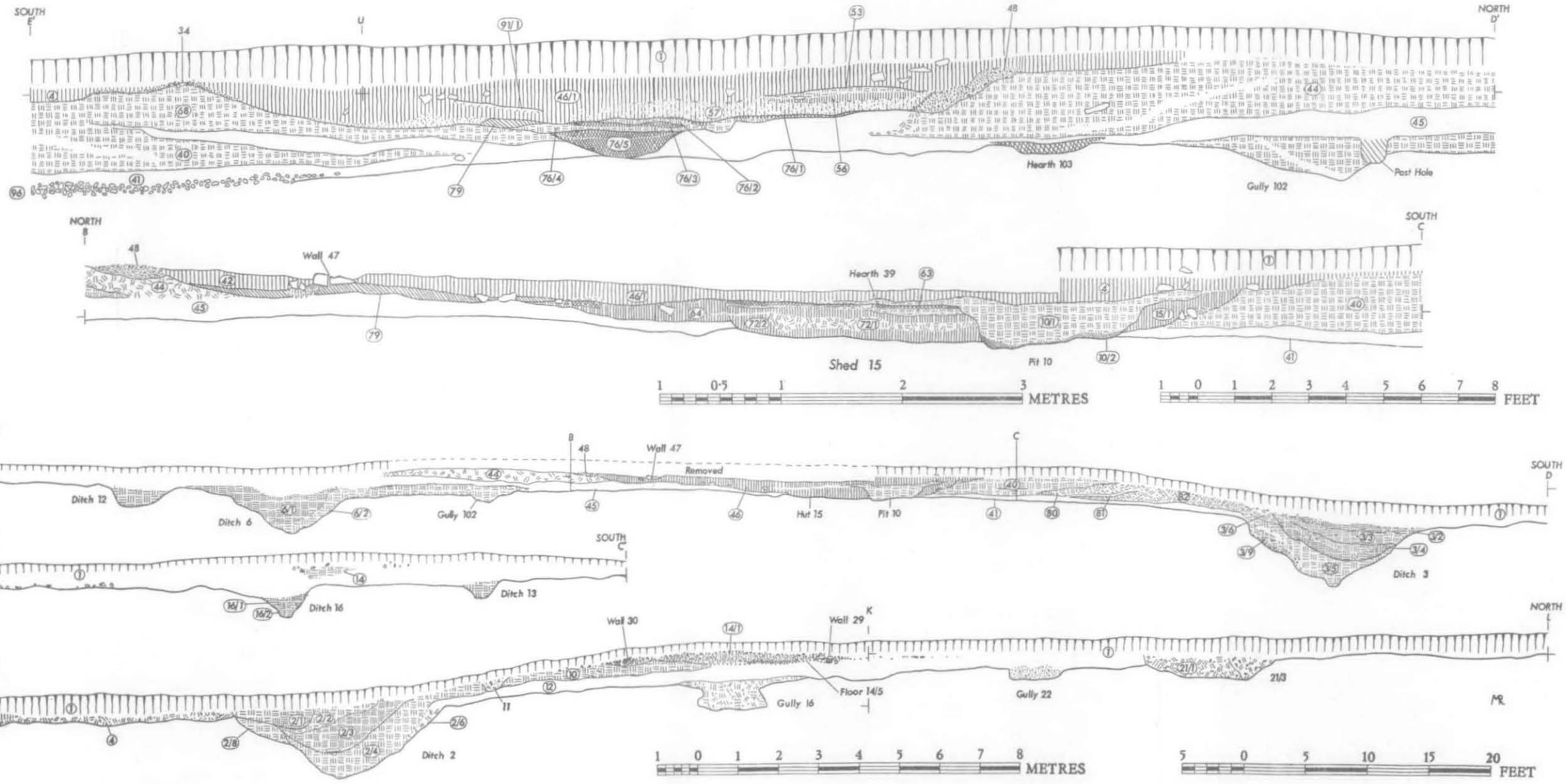

FIG. 12
Sections (E¹–D¹, B–C, A–D, J–L).

gravel with flints, of 21/1 brown clay with flints, and of 21/3 dirty grey clay with some pieces of limestone.

A continuation of the large ditch 6–19 (sections A–D, G–H) did not appear in section J–L.

Section M–N (FIG. 11)

This section served to show that a thick occupation deposit continued this far east into the field. The layers cannot be interpreted, but their descriptions are as follows:

24 Grey brown loam
25 White clay
26 Very black loam with much fire charcoal
27 Light brown clayey loam, the old ground surface
28 Grey brown clayey loam
29 Grey brown flinty loam with flecks of orange clay.

Section O–P (FIG. 10)

This was an east-west section dug by the Water Board for re-routing a pipe. It showed a north-south ditch, 23, with the white clay which had been excavated from it, 21, sealing a layer of brown loam with many charcoal flecks, 22.

The fill of the ditch was grey clay, 23/3, under grey brown clayey loam, 23/2, under yellowish white, rather flinty clay.

Section I–J (FIG. 10)

A section was dug eastwards from the southern end of section J–L. Under the topsoil was a layer of flinty yellow clay, apparently a glacial deposit. The two brown clay-filled gullies sealed by it, 8 and 9, were therefore also geological features. The only man-made feature was Ditch 7 which was filled with a very black slightly sandy loam. Layer 3 is likely to have been an earlier cut. If projected southwards on Fig. 2, it would meet the pond.

The topsoil in this section was interesting because it was a much blacker, richer loam than over the rest of the site.

INTERPRETATION AND CONCLUSIONS

ARCHAEOLOGICAL INTERPRETATION

All the features and structures fall into the sequence of phases shown on the interpretation plans (FIGS. 13, 14). The reasons behind their absolute dating and the relative dating between Areas 1 and 2 are given below (p. 86).

Phase I (Phase I of Areas 1 and 2)

Use of the site was basically agricultural, with the place of habitation elsewhere. The earliest dateable feature was the Roman gully, probably a field

ditch, with the late Roman burnt area on top of it, but no definite buildings (FIG. 13).

Absence of snails in the old topsoil which covered the Roman features possibly suggests regular ploughing before the late 11th century (p. 112).

The earliest Medieval feature of the site, the area of 11th century cobbles was perhaps a threshing floor.[83] Again an agricultural use with the habitation site elsewhere is suggested.

Phase II (Phase II of Areas 1 and 2)

Some time during the late 11th–early 12th century a large ditched and embanked enclosure was constructed (FIG. 13). The depth from the top of the bank to the bottom of the ditch was 2·7 m. (9 feet), but the bank would have been higher before the ditch had been partly backfilled from it. The ditch was 4·2 m. wide (13 feet). Not surprisingly, the snail evidence suggests that the bottom of the ditch was marshy or even had standing water in it (p. 109). The size of the enclosure made by the ditch is uncertain (see p. 50 and Fig. 2 for the topographical evidence). It extended at least 60 m. to the east and 35 m. to the north ; what may be its north-west corner occurs 100 m. to the north, but that could comprise part of another set of earthworks. All other traces of it have either been lost amongst other Medieval earthworks or destroyed by modern buildings. All sections across the ditch showed it had been very cleanly backfilled from the bank not long after its excavation, and there were no other contemporary structures discovered.

It is difficult to suggest a use for the bank and ditch. Hoskins states that Leicestershire D.M.V. sites generally, but not always, have a distinct rampart around the whole site.[84] Barley says that a small bank, surrounded originally by a fence, is not uncommon among Midland villages, its function being to keep animals grazing the stubble of the open fields from straying into the home closes and gardens. He also states, however, that the ditch surrounding Wellow, which was eight feet deep, was something larger than a mere boundary ditch.[85] The Tetsworth ditch was deeper than necessary for a boundary ditch, either in the sense of one intended to prevent cattle straying across, or for a drain.

If the enclosure was no larger than its certain extent (see above, p. 50), it could have been a rather large raised *toft*, a house site and yard, such structures being typical of clay sites. However, the construction of raised tofts does not begin until the 13th century[86] and they appear to be built up over a period of time by successive cleaning out of a smaller ditch, rather than being built in a single operation.[87] Finally, if it was a toft, where was the house ? House C, the earliest building discovered, was set partly on the southern bank, but it was 12th century. Also it can be shown that the house had been built after the bank

[83] For a discussion of threshing floors see p. 74.
[84] W. G. Hoskins, *Essays in Leicestershire History* (1950), 70.
[85] M. W. Barley, *Nott. Med. Stud.*, 1 (1957), 77–8.
[86] M. W. Beresford and J. G. Hurst, *Deserted Medieval Villages* (1971), 117.
[87] At Holworth, Rahtz found that most of the build-up of a toft was due to repeated cleaning out of 13th century ditches occurring in the later 14th–15th century. P. A. Rahtz, 'Holworth Medieval Village Excavation, 1958', *Proc. Dorset Nat. Hist. and Archaeol. Soc.*, LXXXI (1959), 136–7.

had been slighted ; if the backfill (layer 2/4 on section J–L, Fig. 12) is projected back onto the bank, it would make a very steep slope with the bank piled up against the wall of the house.

The enclosure would have been easily defensible, since it was too wide to leap across and the sides difficult to climb.[88]

Phase III (Phase III of Areas 1 and 2)

In the 12th century, domestic occupation of the site began. A toft was situated in the south-west corner of the Phase II enclosure. Its southern and western boundaries were the Phase II ditches, recut to a shallower, more reasonable depth. A new ditch had been dug for the northern boundary and the clay from it surfaced with the gravel to make a track (FIG. 13). The eastern boundary was likely to have been the eastern edge of Copt Hay. The ditch revealed in the Water Board's trench (FIG. 10, O–P) may have been this boundary, but the clay spoil from the ditch had sealed an occupation layer underneath. This means that either there had been Phase I or II occupation there, or that the clay was from a later recut of a ditch on that line.

On the southern side of the toft was a well-built house, C, an internal hearth showing its use. Towards the toft's eastern end was first a large cess pit, then the sunken-floored shed (Phase IIIA) (PL. II, A) followed by a number of smaller pits and a hearth used for cooking (PL. II, B), which had a good spread of broken cooking-pots around it (Phase III, B). There were also occupation layers to the east of the house, but they were revealed only in a small machine trench (p. 69). The northern boundary ditch was not continuous ; it did not seem to join the western ditch, and had either stopped or turned before section J–L, in front of the house. Perhaps this is because a track, just missed by this section, led southwards to the house, with the track discovered in Area 1 branching from it.

To the south of the toft was a croft of about 0·9 acres (4,080 sq. yards, 3,460 sq. metres), with a pond in it (FIG. 13). The croft had been enclosed by a boundary ditch. To the north of the toft there was no trace of occupation on the motorway line, only a few small enclosure or drainage ditches.

Phase III, therefore, can be seen as a farm unit. The farmhouse was set in the toft, with the domestic part of the yard to the west and possibly a barn or byre in the unexcavated part to the east. To the north of the toft the small ditches can be seen as farm stock enclosures, whilst to the south was the croft with a pond. The croft is likely to have been used for the growing of vegetables, fruit tree culture, the night-time penning of stock animals and the keeping of fowl or geese (p. 115). Geese, when not feeding on fallen grain in stubble or being fed corn, require quite a large area of pasture for grazing.

Phase IV (Phase IV of Area 1 but probably still Phase III of Area 2)

From the very end of the 12th century until some time during the first half of the 13th century it seems that the farm was much the same as in Phase III.

[88] As I discovered to my cost when trying to climb unaided out of the trench in Area 1 across the ditch after it had been fully excavated.

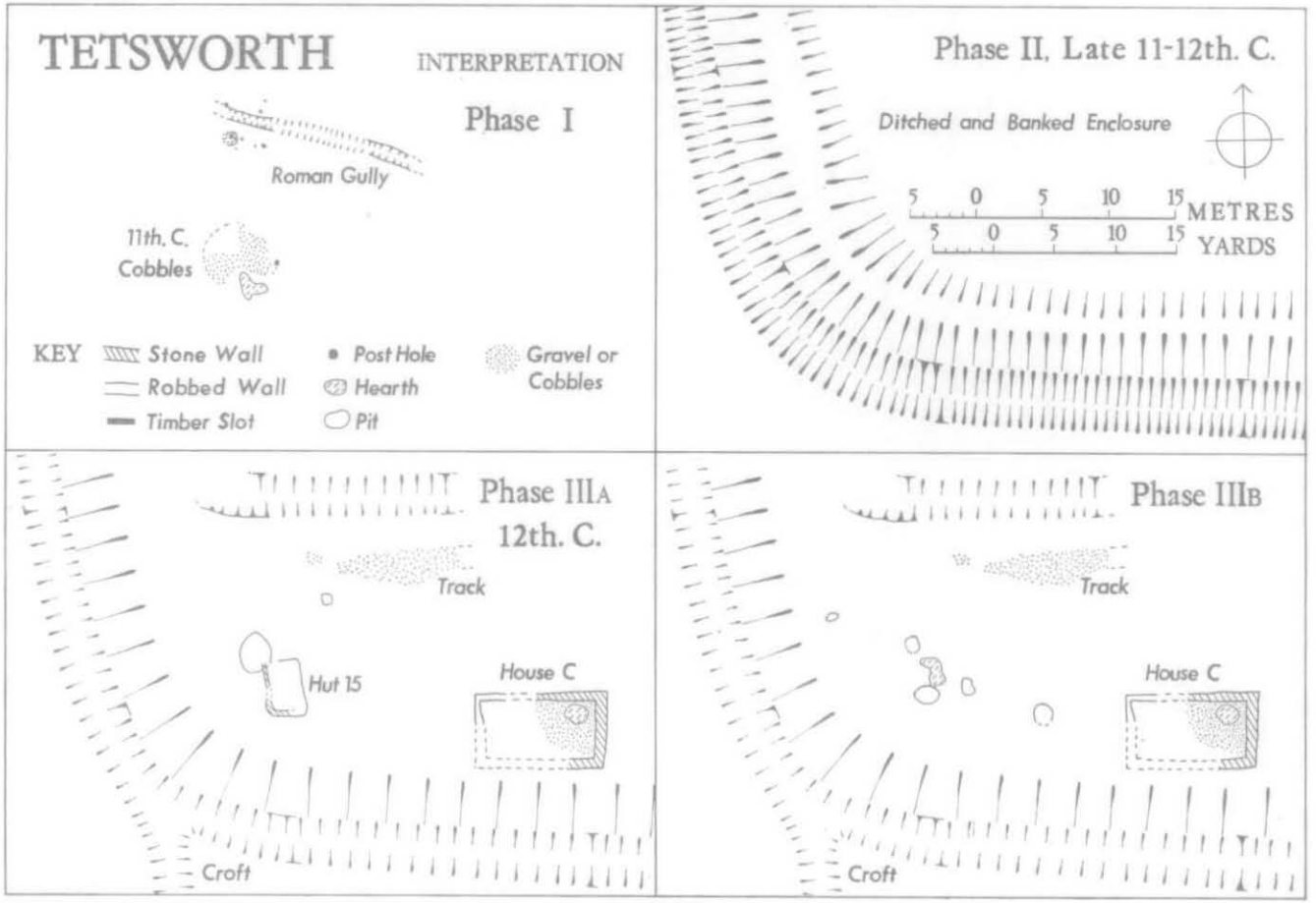

FIG. 13
Interpretation Plan, Phases I–III.

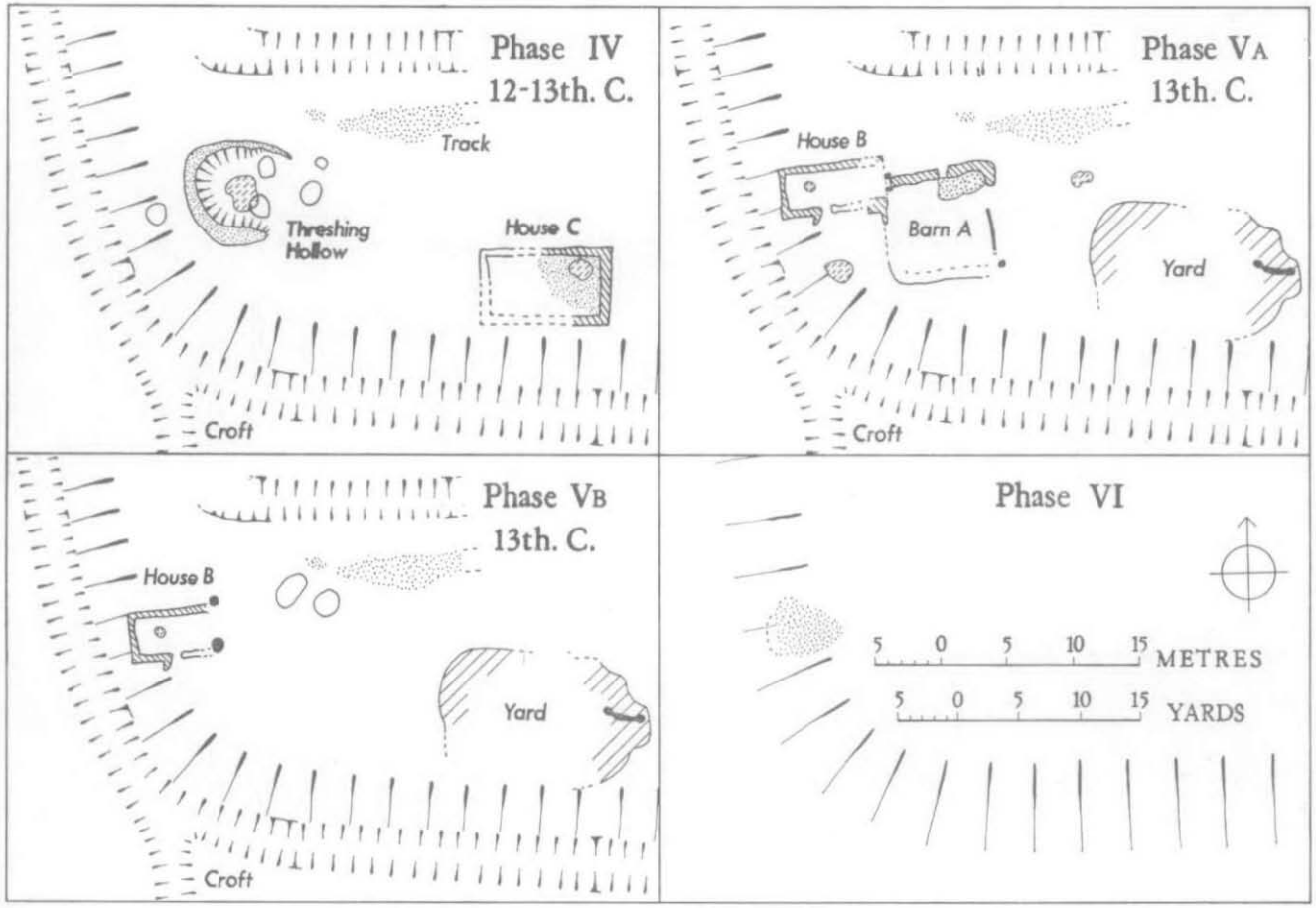

FIG. 14
Interpretation Plan, Phases IV–VI.

It would not go against the internal dating of the site for house C to have been demolished at the beginning of Phase IV, but there is no particular reason why it should have been (see p. 86). The major feature of this phase was the large clay-lined hollow with a burnt area on each of its three floors (details, p. 56).

The presence of carbonized cereal grain in it suggested its use as a threshing floor. It would certainly be quite suitable for one, despite being in a hollow, for it is on the top of a hill, which would be windy enough for the winnowing. Whilst the burnt areas could be due to the burning of the chaff, they could equally be connected with corn drying. Jope found a small 13th century corn drying kiln at Beere, Devon,[89] but corn need not be kiln dried. In some gaelic areas until the 18th century, corn was dried before threshing, in sheaves placed on a trellis framework over a fire.[90] The stake-holes in the floor might have supported such a frame. The presence of beans on the threshing floor is not surprising because beans were threshed like corn,[91] and then dried. The numerous fragments of large storage jars possibly indicate what the grain and beans were stored in after threshing.

Phase V (Phase V of Area 1, Phase IV of Area 2)

During the mid 13th century, whilst the function of the site as a farm remained the same as the previous two phases, there was a rearrangement of structures in the toft. House C had been demolished and a yard put in its place, whilst house B, and the adjoining barn A, had been built in the old yard of C. B was identified as a house by its internal hearth, whilst A has been called a barn, but equally well could be a byre. There is even a chance that it was not a building at all, but a small open (cattle) yard with a wall around it.[92] Whilst this suggestion would remove the problem of how the structure was roofed, it would not explain the post-holes, and the timber slot along the eastern edge.

During Phase VA both house and barn, if there was a barn, were standing, whilst in Phase VB, only the house itself was left (FIG. 14). It is likely that the site of the barn was being used as a midden area by the end of this phase, and this use extended into Phase VI, resulting in a thick occupation build-up and two shallow scoops for rubbish.

It has been assumed that the toft and croft boundary ditches all remained open during this phase, but the croft may have been subdivided. Ditch 7 in section I–J (p. 69 and Fig. 10), ran on a line which, if continued southwards, would divide the croft into two roughly equal parts whilst both would share the pond. The ditch could not be dated, but seemed late. There is no reason why the toft itself could not have been divided into two properties with the dividing line somewhere to the east of Area 2.

This was the last phase of human habitation on the site.

[89] E. M. Jope and R. I. Threlfall, 'Excavation of a Medieval Settlement at Beere, North Tawton, Devon', *Med. Arch.*, II (1958), 123–4.

[90] Information from A. R. Leeming.

[91] M. E. Seebohm, *The Evolution of the English Farm* (1952), 113.

[92] Small, sunken cattle yards were observed during bulldozing of the D.M.V. of Wawne, Yorkshire. H. C. Jones, *Med. Arch.*, V–VI (1962–3), 343–5.

Phase VI (Phase VI of Area 1, none extant in Area 2)

Towards the end of the 13th century, house B was demolished and replaced by a cobbled area (FIG. 14). If the use of the hollow, where barn A had been, as a midden had not already started, it began and continued a little way into the 14th century. The large number of horseshoe nails from it suggests a farrier in the vicinity.

These were the latest features excavated, and a topsoil showing no trace of ploughing, containing pottery from the 11th century to the present day, developed over the whole site.

CONCLUSIONS

The Medieval site in Copt Hay was unlike most other rural sites because it had such a great depth of occupation deposit, up to a metre in some parts of Area 1. This was because Area 1 was in the lee of the corner of the Phase II bank, so that this part of the site gradually filled up to the level of the top of the bank. This meant that virtually all the features could be stratigraphically assigned to their phases.

The Roman site

The few Roman features, together with the scatter of Roman pottery recovered from Medieval layers, suggest a Roman site in the vicinity. Villagers own Roman coins found when council houses were built 200 yards to the east. One of the 13th century field names at Tetsworth was Blacklands, and the name survived to be located on the tithe map, about half-a-mile north of the site.[93] The field, now under pasture, was walked, and a little Roman, but no Medieval pottery was recovered from some backfilled field drain trenches.

The earliest Medieval features

The village of Tetsworth is believed to have been in existence by the 11th century (but see p. 45). The original church possibly contained some Saxo-Norman work[94] and a quantity of 11th century pottery came from the trial excavations in Home Ground (M.40, Site 5, p. 116). However, the excavation showed that at this date the village had not expanded as far west as Copt Hay and the only features reflect the site's agricultural use.

The Phase II ditched and embanked enclosure

It is difficult to draw conclusions about this enclosure. It is likely that it can be identified as the *Hegge* documented in 1207–8 (pp. 45 and 50). *Hegge* or *hay* can mean almost any sort of enclosure, although ' embanked enclosure ' is one of the probable meanings of Copt Hay.

If it was a raised toft, it was 200 years earlier than it ought to have been

[93] ' Blakelonde ' (*c.* 1200) *Thame Cartulary*.
' Netherblakelonde ' (27 September 1316), Bodleian MS. chs. Oxon. 634 ; located at SP 689022 from Bodleian tithe maps 381.

[94] *V.C.H. Oxon.*, VII, 157.

(p. 70). If its larger size is assumed (p. 50), it would fit the description of the presumed defensive *hay* in which the village of Wellow, Notts., was situated.[95] Unfortunately, it does not seem to have enclosed the village, since the trial trench in Church Piece (Site 5), which produced 11th century occupation, was not included within it.

The most plausible explanation is that it was an enclosure around a late 11th century manor. Although no such structure was excavated, if its larger size is assumed, there would be room in the unexcavated part for a quite substantial building. If so it may have been associated with the Robert mentioned in Domesday, who held Tetsworth from the Bishop of Lincoln (See the Documentary Report, p. 45.) Some other evidence may be relevant. The field to the west of the site was called Old Bury on the tithe map.[96] Among other meanings, bury, from O.E. *burg* can mean manor.[97] The *Hegge* was demesne land in 1207–8, which is consistent with its having been the site of a manor-house.

Whatever it was, a great deal of work had gone into its construction because it was too deep to shovel from the bottom of the ditch on to the top of the bank, and the co-operation of a number of villagers is implied. The Customs of the Duchy of Normandy (1061) forbade the erection of castles without licence, specifying that no ditches were to be dug so deep that the earth could not be thrown out without staging.[98] However, the law seems to be Norman rather than English.

Phases III and IV

From the 12th century to the early 13th century the site showed features both typical and very unusual for a Medieval peasant farm. The layout was conventional, with a house situated in a toft along with various domestic features—cess pits, cooking hearths ; and agricultural structures—a shed and a threshing floor. The toft had an adjoining croft. The artifacts from these phases were again what would be expected from an ordinary peasant site. The pottery had a very low percentage of glazed wares as seems to be normal for rural sites,[99] and the cut-down Roman pot bases (p. 107) are curiosities, but no more.

However, there are several arguments against the site being an ordinary peasant farm. Tetsworth is not a stone area, as the nearest stone is two miles away (p. 43). Yet the walls of house C which was 12th century, were of stone, and there was enough of the stone rubble for one of the gable walls to stand to roof height. Even on stone sites the changeover from timber to stone walls does not occur until the late 12th and 13th centuries.[100] At Seacourt, which has readily available stone, the changeover date ranges from the mid 13th to the early 14th century.[101] The walls of Tetsworth house C have true foundation

[95] Barley, *Nott. Med. Stud.*, 1 (1957), 75–89.
[96] Bodleian tithe maps 381.
[97] Ekwall, *English Place Names*.
[98] D. Renn, *Norman Castles* (1968), 4.
[99] Beresford and Hurst (1971), *op. cit.*, 141.
[100] *Ibid.*, 95.
[101] M. Biddle, ' The Deserted Medieval Village of Seacourt, Berkshire ', *Oxoniensia* XXVI/XXVII (1961/2), 118.

trenches, again an unusual feature. However, house C was no larger than an ordinary peasant's house.

The animal bones also suggest that the site was not an ordinary peasant farm during these phases. Its occupants were eating good joints of meat butchered away from the site, and not using the whole animal in stews (p. 113). Although all species of deer were ' beasts of the forest ' during the 12th and 13th centuries, the finding of their bones in low numbers from Phases III and VI is not significant in this argument. Deer poaching occurred at Seacourt.[102]

The most surprising find was a bone from a merlin from Phase IV. A hawk was found at Deddington, but that was an entirely different sort of site, for the bird was down the well of the Medieval castle.[103] According to the Book of St. Albans, the merlin was a lady's falcon.[104] It would have been quite a valuable possession since it could not have been taken from the nest locally (p. 115).

Although there is evidence that the site was not an ordinary peasant farm, the building excavated certainly was not grand enough for a manor.

There are three possible explanations. The first is that 12th–13th century peasants in Tetsworth really were far more prosperous than Medieval peasants generally ; that they ate well and had time for falconry. This can only be proved or disproved by excavation of more house sites in the region. The documentary evidence suggests that although Tetsworth peasants were free, they did not hold any more land than was usual elsewhere.

The second possible explanation is that the farm was part of a manorial complex, the manor itself being off the line of the motorway, and so not located. In this case the animal bones would not be the refuse of the occupants of house C only. For the duration of Phase III (which begins some time during the 12th century and ends around the end of the 12th or beginning of the 13th century), Robert Chevauchesul would have been one of the Lords of Tetsworth (p. 45). He may have lived at Tetsworth (p. 46). During Phase IV (which comes to an end during the first half of the 13th century), the two inheritors of the Tetsworth fee, Peter Talemasche and Robert Danvers, are unlikely to have lived in the village. But some of their relations could have lived in Robert Chevauchesul's old manor house, if it was at Tetsworth.

The third explanation is that the site was neither a peasant's house nor part of a manor complex. This implies that there was a person or class of people in Tetsworth with a higher standard of living than a peasant, yet not the lord of the manor. The documents record at least one person, possibly others, who might fit just such a description, living in Tetsworth during Phases III and IV. The brother of Robert Danvers, Ralf, may have done so in the late 12th century, whilst from the beginning of the 13th century onwards various lesser Danvers held land in Tetsworth (p. 47). They may, or may not, have lived there.

[102] *Ibid.*, 118.

[103] Information from Professor E. M. Jope.

[104] ' A knight (has) a sacret ; a lady a merlin ' ; from *The Book of Hawking, Hunting and the Blasing of Arms, commonly called the Boke of St. Albans* (1486). Most of the hawking and hunting is a translation of the *Venerie de Twety* of the time of Edward II.

The list only gives an idea as to who might be expected to fly a particular bird, ownership was not restricted. From E. F. Jacob, *The Book of St. Alban's* (1944).

A Tetsworth *clericus*, Alan, was sufficiently high up the social scale to marry well. His wife, Clarice, was Robert Chevauchesul's neice ; she may have been Richard Talemasche's sister.[105] He owned much land in the village,[106] and definitely lived there. The Talemaches indulged in falconry.[107]

The last two theories are supported by the *Hegge* being Talemasche demesne in 1207–8 (p. 46). The manor theory is supported by the suggestion that there had been a manor there during Phase II, but against the idea that there was a functioning manor in 1207–8 is the granting of what would be pasture rights in its grounds to Thame Abbey.

Phase V

This phase, beginning in the first half and ending in the second half of the 13th century, shows some of the unusual features of the previous two phases, but not to so great an extent. The farm unit of house and barn is conventional ; although the walls of house B are of stone with a little lime mortar, they are dwarf walls for sleeper beams and their date is 13th century. Barn A is unusual in that it is too wide to be spanned by a roof without internal supports.[108] The animal bones show little difference from the previous two phases and again indicate that it was the better cuts of meat that were being eaten (p. 113), whereas the pottery does not indicate anything out of the ordinary. The three possible explanations for what is represented in the previous two phases apply to this phase too.

Desertion

It can be concluded that the site ceased to be inhabited towards the end of the 13th century and that not long afterwards it was put down to pasture. The possible reasons for its desertion have been thoroughly covered in the documentary report (p. 47). Whether it was the Cistercians consolidating their Tetsworth estates, an individual buying up small holdings piecemeal, or the attraction of the roads causing the occupant, next time he rebuilt, doing so on land nearer the road, it must be remembered that it is the site, not the village which was deserted. It in no way implies an economic decline or shrinking of the whole village. The attraction of the road might have played a part even if one of the other two reasons was the primary cause. The site represented the furthest extent westwards of the village along the top of the ridge. This would make it less attractive as a domicile to a potential buyer if the village was shifting to the roads. Certainly the village did move towards the roads.

There are still a number of other points which can be discussed. There may be a satisfactory explanation for the village's move away from the top of the ridge, but why was it there in the first place ? If the site was first settled at a time when the roads were less important, and the houses of timber, set directly on the ground,

[105] See footnote 49.
[106] He gave half a hide to Thame Abbey in 1199, *Thame Cartulary*, 106.
[107] See footnote 31.
[108] Beresford and Hurst (1971), *op. cit.*, 115.

a site above the spring line would probably be better (p. 43). Later on, most of the houses would have had stone footings, so this would not be so important.

The Phase V house and barn followed the same pattern as the Seacourt farm unit. Although it was not possible to excavate the centre of house C, and prove conclusively that it was not a long house, it seems unlikely. This is in agreement with the absence of long houses at Seacourt.

The arable side of the economy at Tetsworth was demonstrated by the finds of carbonized wheat, oats, barley and beans for food, with vetches for fodder. It is dangerous to draw conclusions about the pastoral side of the village's economy from the animal bones, since they represent animals brought to the site for consumption, not animals kept (p. 112). In fact the suggestion that the pigs were semi-feral could mean that they were derived from one of the Chiltern villages with large tracts of woodland. There are no unexpected absences of any species, although in Phases III–VI the percentage of sheep was low when compared with other Medieval village sites.[109]

Whilst the excavation has created several problems about the nature of the site, some of them could be answered easily by further excavation. Excavation of a house site elsewhere in the village would show whether the prosperous Tetsworth peasant theory is true; similarly, excavation in Copt Hay to the north of the motorway might reveal what it was that the Phase II ditch was enclosing, and whether there had been a manor there from Phases III to V as well. Finally, it would be interesting to trace the full extent of the Phase II enclosure and discover its relationship with the 11th century occupation to the east.

FINDS

POTTERY

Abbreviations

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Bruce-Mitford. R. L. S. Bruce-Mitford, ' The Archaeology of the Bodleian Extension ', *Oxoniensia,* IV (1939), 89–146.
Dunning. G. C. Dunning, ' A Thirteenth Century Stirrup and Storage Jar from Rabley Heath, Herts.', *Antiq. J.,* XIX (1939), 305–12.
Hinton, 1968. D. A. Hinton, ' A Medieval Cistern from Churchill ', *Oxoniensia,* XXXIII (1968), 66–70.
Hinton, 1969. D. A. Hinton, ' Excavation at Bicester Priory, 1968 ', *Oxoniensia,* XXXIV (1969), 21–28.
Jope, 1943. E. M. Jope, ' Medieval Pottery from Merton College, Oxford ', *Oxoniensia,* VIII–IX (1943/4), 102–6.
Jope, 1950. E. M. Jope *et al.*, ' Pottery from a late 12th century well-filling and other Medieval Finds from St. John's College, Oxford ', *Oxoniensia,* XV (1950), 44–62.
Jope, 1952. E. M. Jope, ' Late Saxon Pits under Oxford Castle Mound ', *Oxoniensia,* XVII/XVIII (1952–3), 77–111.
Jope, 1958. E. M. Jope, ' The Clarendon Hotel, Oxford, Part 1 : The Site ', *Oxoniensia,* XXIII (1958), 1–83.
Jope, 1959. E. M. Jope and R. I. Threlfall, 'The Twelfth Century Castle at Ascot D'oilly, Oxon.', *Antiq. J.,* XXXIX (1959), 219–73.

[109] *Ibid.*, 139.

L.M.M.C. *London Museum Medieval Catalogue* (1940).
Pike. G. Pike, ' A Medieval Pottery Kiln Site on the Camley Gardens Estate, Maidenhead ', *Berks. Arch. J.*, 62 (1965/6), 27–33.
Radcliffe. F. Radcliffe, O.P., ' Excavations at Logic Lane, Oxford ', *Oxoniensia*, XXVI/XXVII (1961/2), 38–69.
Seaby. H. A. Seaby, ed. *Standard Catalogue of British Coins* (1966).

The site produced about 30,000 sherds of which all but about 100 were 12th or 13th century. Most of them were from Area 1 and almost all could be stratigraphically assigned to a Phase. Therefore the pottery not only provides the means for dating the structures on the site but gives a useful sequence for the region.

The pottery is discussed under the headings Roman Pottery, Medieval Pottery, Post-Desertion Pottery, and Dating, and finally brief descriptions will be given of the 100 sherds illustrated.

THE ROMAN POTTERY

I am grateful to Mr. C. J. Young for examining the Roman pottery and identifying it.

In contrast to the vast quantity of Medieval pottery from the site there are only four stratified and 21 residual Roman sherds, with two tile fragments.

Stratified Roman Sherds from Phase 1

Gully 102 produced two body sherds from large jars, its only finds. They have been tempered with crushed pot or tile.

The burnt area on top of the gully, feature 103, produced two further sherds, one a flagon handle fragment in orange ware with traces of a white slip. It is possibly 2nd century A.D. The other sherd is the base of an orange colour-coated beaker and is an Oxford kiln product. Its date is A.D. 250–400.

The residual sherds included a late 3rd century mortarium rim of Churchill type B[110].

THE MEDIEVAL POTTERY

GLAZED POTTERY

Whilst the glazed wares make up only a small percentage of the pottery (below 3%) they are extremely important in that they provide the dating evidence for the site. Apart from two ' fish dishes ' all the glazed sherds are from pitchers or jugs.

Stamford Type Ware

The earliest glazed pottery of Phase I from the site is two sherds of Stamford type ware, one from the old ground surface, layer 41, and the other from the 11th century burnt area (96), both sealed beneath the late 11th–12th century Phase II bank of Area 1. (The reasons behind the dating are set out below, p. 89). A further sherd came from the bank itself, layer 40. One of the sherds is burnt, but the other two have a very fine slightly pinkish white fabric (one with a pink interior) and a pale lemon glaze. Apart from the bottle described below, this was the only glazed pottery to show finger rillings internally, indicating that it had been thrown on a fast wheel rather than formed on a slow one. A small concave strap handle of Stamford type ware, with thumbing on either edge, was found in a 13th century layer.

Tripod Pitchers

In Area 1, the first sherds of tripod pitcher came from the 12th century shed, 15, which cut the Phase II bank and sherds of this type continued into Phase VI. The fabric is

[110] C. J. Young, ' Excavations at the Churchill Hospital, 1971 ', *Oxoniensia*, XXXVII (1972), 22, Fig. 5, no. 1.

variable, but is basically a hard, medium (grain size) sandy ware with varying amounts of sand. It has a grey core and occasionally grey or pink, but normally buff surfaces.

The glaze ranges from orange-yellow to olive green, but there is a predominance of apple green. Decorations on the body include patterns of incised lines (as *Jope* (1958), Fig. 19, 218), combing (FIG. 15, 1), applied vertical pinched strips of clay (as *Jope* (1958), Fig. 19, BIB 44), and an unusual feature, rouletting. As well as the usual strap handles with a rope-like plait of clay impressed down the centre, there are two handles on which a rod of clay has been impressed down the centre and then finger pressed. From the clay out of which the Phase IV hollow had been constructed around the end of the 12th century was part of a handle and rim from a rather unusual tripod pitcher identical to one from the late 12th century well in St. John's College (*Jope* (1950), Fig. 16, 6). It had a notched rim and a simple strap handle with a rod of clay tightly pressed into it. The fabric was the same grey ware with pink surfaces and a rough olive glaze.

From the wall of Barn A (Phase V) built some time in the first half of the 13th century, came a sherd of tripod pitcher with part of a white slip line on it. This would have come at the end of the tripod pitcher series.

In Area 2, the first sherd of tripod pitcher was from the gravel floor of house C, layer 14/5, which belonged to Phase III and was 12th century. Two sherds of white slip decorated tripod pitcher ware came from the early 13th century rubble and cobbles which covered C, layer 17 (Phase IV of this area). One of them had regularly applied white slip dots and a curving line of slip, as in a jug from Radcliffe Square (A.M., 1915. 71, *Bruce-Mitford*, PL. X, no. 8).

Small Ovoid Jug

Until Phase IIIB of Area 1 (end of the 12th century) tripod pitcher was the only glazed ware. This was joined in layer 64, the occupation spread covering hut 15, by a rod handle from a small ovoid jug, similar to one from well 2 of the New Bodleian site in Oxford (*Bruce-Mitford*, 101, Fig. 22, C and D). It had a slightly pinkish sandy fabric, and patches of pale yellow glaze. The fabric seems to be the same as the New Bodleian example. Although the only part found was the handle, it is likely to have been from a jug of similar shape and size. It was the only example of this type of vessel from the site.

Bottle

Fragments from a single bottle in a buff fabric, similar to that of the above vessel, came from a number of layers in Area 1. It has patches of glaze which varied from yellow to light green. Except for the Stamford type ware, it is the only glazed vessel with internal rilling indicating that it was wheel thrown. The earliest sherd of it was from layer 79, the spread of charcoal in the early 13th century hollow of Phase IV.

Decorated Pitchers or Jugs

From pit 55, which was a pit from Phase IV of Area 1, sealed by the cobbles of barn A, came two joining sherds in a fine red sandy fabric with an olive to orange glaze with brown flecking. Other similar sherds came from the occupation layer inside the Phase V barn, layer 46, and are from a baggy jug or pitcher with a thumbed base and a simple strap handle with two vertical slashes on it. It had been decorated with vertical stripes of red clay paint.

From the occupation material inside the barn, the robbing of the southern wall of house B (109/1), the disturbed area of its northern wall where the Phase VB post-hole cut it (88), all mid 13th century layers, came sherds in a red, medium sandy fabric. They have a brown-speckled, orange-brown glaze, with both red and white slip decoration.

These sherds in general resemble the baggy jugs from well 1 of the New Bodleian in shape, fabric, decoration and glaze (*Bruce-Mitford*, Fig. 23, and pp. 97–9).

'*Fish Dishes*'

Two sherds from different bowls in a buff sandy fabric, with a yellowish green glaze internally, were found, one from the occupation material inside the Phase V barn in Area 1 (FIG. 10), and another from the Phase VI occupation material of layer 18 on top of it. They were decorated with a wavy line around the rim. (Similar to *Jope* (1943), Fig. 33, 8.)

'*Three-Decker Jugs*'. Late 13th–14th Century

From the midden area in Area 1 of Phase VI came seven sherds in a grey fine sandy fabric with pale pink surfaces. They have a mottled, deep green, clear glaze with some brown flecks. One of the sherds has an applied vertical strip in the same colour clay, another is the base of a rod handle illustrated (FIG. 15, 3).

UNGLAZED POTTERY

Most of the 30,000 sherds from the site were unglazed coarse wares, and they have been divided into three groups ; that from underneath and within the Phase II bank of Area 1 ; Group A, all from 12th century features ; and Group B, from late 12th and 13th century features.

Pottery from and beneath the Bank

Only 10 coarse ware sherds were found from these locations in Area 1 and none in Area 2.

The Phase I 11th century cobbles, feature 96, produced two sherds, one with a hard sandy and grey core, the other hard and black, with sand and limestone grit tempering.

The burnt area above the cobbles, 95, and the old topsoil, 41, produced 7 sherds, one tempered with finely ground limestone and sand (perhaps some shell too), 5 were grey or orange cored, and one was in a black fabric with large fragments of shell and grit. One of the sandy sherds was from a small everted rim with thumbing along the top.

The Phase II bank, layer 40, produced a single sherd from a shell and sand tempered bowl (FIG. 21, 100).

The sherds from Phase I and the bank can be matched with those from beneath Oxford Castle Mound (*Jope* (1952)).

Stamford type ware was the only glazed pottery with this group.

Pottery Group A

On the basis of fabric and form, much of the pottery from the two areas later than the Phase II bank can be divided into an early and a late group. This is not true for all the pottery, as there are some forms and fabrics common to both groups.

Group A is the earlier of the two and is 12th century. In Area 1 it came from the Phase IIIA features, i.e. shed 15 and pit 65A. In Area 2 it was from all the Phase III features, i.e. house C, its gravel floor and the layer sealed by it. There are only two types of fabric in the group, clay tempered with varying amounts of sand, and calcite A, clay tempered with a mixture of limestone grits up to about 1·5 mm. in diameter and similar sized lumps of a greyish material.

The only glazed sherds with group A pottery were tripod pitcher ware.

Sandy Wares

These can be divided up into coarse, medium and fine on the basis of the size of sand grain used (fine grains being those up to about 0·4 mm. in diameter, medium grains

those from 0·4 mm. to 0·8 mm. and coarse, above 0·8 mm.). Whilst the coarse sandy pottery forms a distinct group which seems to be early Group A only, the division between fine and medium is not significant, so has not been included separately in the tables (p. 87). There seems a tendency for the Group A pottery to contain more fine sandy wares than Group B, but in many cases almost identical forms occur in both fabrics.

In Area 1 bowls and cooking-pots were found in the fine/medium sandy fabric. Bowls were rare, so no generalizations can be made (FIG. 21, 88 only). One of the typical forms of cooking-pot has a quite tall rather everted flange rim with finger impressions along the top. Typically the body shows tool-trimming (FIG. 16, 20, 21). The same rim form occasionally occurs without finger-tipping (FIG. 16, 22), or the same effect has been achieved using a stick instead of fingers (FIG. 16, 15). This rim form, with finger-tipping, tool-trimming and a similar fabric has also been found in Oxford from a late 11th or early 12th century well (*Jope* (1958), Fig. 12, C2C.4 and p. 66), and at Seacourt from an early 13th century pit (*Biddle*, Fig. 23, 14 and p. 154). There is also one example with a simple rim finger-tipped around the outside (FIG. 16, 19), which is an identical pot to one from Oxford, Westgate, pit 27, where the only other glazed pottery similarly was tripod pitcher ware. However, neither the rim form, nor fingering around the outside of the rim, are typical of Group A pottery.

Another type in the fine/medium sandy fabric (there is one example in a coarse sandy fabric) first recognized from this site, has oblique vertical combed decoration, and has been given the temporary soubriquet 'M.40 Ware' (FIG. 16, 11, 12; FIG. 18, 40, 41). It represents one of the types common to Group A and Group B. The rim form is everted, but extremely variable, there being examples with tall or squat rims that are straight or campanulate, plain or with small internal or external flanges, thickened, undecorated or fingered, either on the top or around the inside. One unusual feature for cooking-pots of this date (12th–13th century) is that in at least some of the examples the base is narrower than the neck. However, in all other ways it is typical, with a convex base and usually a grey core, but red, black, grey or buff surfaces sometimes all on different areas of the same pot. (See Appendix 2, 181–183).

The Group A Area 2 fine/medium sandy pottery is much the same as that from Area 1. In addition to cooking pots, two storage jars were represented, one illustrated (FIG. 16, 23), and a body sherd from a vessel with a grey core and red exterior with combed wavy line decoration (possibly similar to *Hinton* (1968) Fig. 17).

There are very few coarse sandy sherds from Area 1, but a number from the earlier layers of Area 2 (below the floor of house C, Fig. 8).

Calcite A

Like the coarse sandy ware, this type of fabric (described on p. 82) is confined to Group A in Area 2. It has a grey core, a brown to black exterior and a brown to pink interior. The only type of vessel made in it is a small, crude cooking-pot with a flared rim and almost vertical sides (FIG. 16, 17). Unlike the Group B calcite cooking-pots, the base angle is very rounded. A similarly shaped pot, but in a shelly fabric, came from a 12th century context in Oxford (*Jope* (1958), Fig. 17, BIB 30).

Pottery Group B

This group ranges from the late 12th century to the 13th century. In Area 1 it came from Phase III B to Phase VI features, i.e. layer 64 and all later features. In Area 2 it came from the Phase IV features, i.e. the demolition rubble and cobbles covering house C.

The only fabric that continued from the previous phase is the fine/medium sandy ware. However, two new fabrics appear. There is a flinty one, in which the tempering material is medium grained sand with varying amounts of limestone and flint grits

up to 3 mm. in diameter. The other is Calcite B, which is tempered with differing proportions of ground shell and limestone.

Group B pottery has been found with all types of glazed ware described above.

Sandy Wares

Only fine and medium grain sandy fabrics seem to have been in use in the phases to which this group belongs. As Table II shows, they were decreasing in quantity throughout this period. Apart from the special cases mentioned below, their fabric and colour is much the same as the sandy wares from Group A. In form, however, they are not always similar.

From Area 1 come bowls, cooking-pots, storage vessels and jugs in this fabric. This is by far the most common fabric for bowls. Their rims are either plain (FIG. 21, 81), or decorated with fingering (FIG. 21, 94), but none of them are very inturned. Some of them have knife-trimmed exteriors (FIG. 21, 81).

The two main sandy cooking-pot rim forms of Group B appear fully evolved at the beginning of Phase IIIB and continue to the end of Phase VI. The first of these is the 'ordinary' rim type of 13th century sandy cooking-pots, slightly everted, and expanded at the top, often into an external flange (FIG. 17, 29–34). This general type also occurred at Seacourt in the 13th century (*Biddle*, Fig. 22, 6, 7). The nearest rim to this type showing any decoration is Fig. 18, 39.

The other rim type is tall and everted, with little thickening (FIG. 17, 24–28). They show a tendency to be campanulate rather than straight like the Group A tall rims. Fingered or thumbed decoration around the rim is quite common, varying from very slight, as in Fig. 17, 36, to quite heavy, Fig. 17, 38. The decoration is almost always on the outside of the rim, unlike the Group A fingered rims. This is not a typical Oxford rim form, but an almost identical rim to that of Fig. 17, 38 (fabric not stated) came from a 13th century kiln at Maidenhead (*Pike*, Fig. 3, C).

The combed 'M.40 Ware' is as well represented in this group as the previous (FIG. 17, 40, 41).

Two rather distinctive sandy cooking-pot fabrics appeared towards the end of Phase IV in Area 1, and continued to the end of Phase VI, but neither reached 2% of the total pottery of any layer counted. The first of these was in a medium grained sandy fabric. It has a light grey core and a yellow-buff surface with some thin yellowish or greyish streaks, and is identical to the unglazed parts of some tripod pitchers. This fabric has not been separated from the main bulk of the sandy wares in Tables 1 and 2, because it was difficult to draw a dividing line between them (FIG. 18, 48).

The second fabric type is referred to as Hard Grey Ware in Table 1. It is a clayey fabric containing relatively few medium to large sand grains and is extremely hard, making a metallic noise when struck, presumably due to a high firing temperature. Its colour is a uniform grey throughout. The rims of the cooking-pots in this fabric are squat and clubbed (FIG. 18, 49, 50).

A number of sandy storage vessels are included in the Group B pottery from Area 1 (FIG. 18, 42–47), the majority being from the Phase IV threshing hollow. Such vessels were used for both storage and cooking. Some of the larger vessels described as cooking-pots which did not show evidence of use over a fire could have been used for storage. The definition used here is one which has body decoration other than combing. None shows traces of use over a fire.

The rim form and decoration of these vessels is quite variable. Some of the rims are finger impressed, whilst finger pinching can occur on the body. Applied horizontal and vertical strips of clay, some thumbed, also occur. Some of the rims illustrated undoubtedly represent tall storage jars as shown in *Dunning*, others would be from wide-mouthed cooking-pot-shaped vessels.

The final Group B sandy vessels from Area 1 are jugs, e.g. Fig. 15, 5, 6. At least as many jugs in the ordinary unglazed sandy fabric were in use during this period as

glazed ones. They are ovoid or baggy in shape with plain or decorated strap handles and a simple pinched lip. Their rims are everted, either plain or tiered.

Jugs occur in the two special fabrics described above, which occur from the end of Phase IV onwards, both examples being from the end of Phase IV. In the ' unglazed tripod pitcher fabric ' occur fragments of an ovoid jug. It had a thumbed base, a strap handle with finger impressions along its edges and a single incised wavy line around it between two horizontal lines. The jug in the Hard Grey Ware is illustrated in Fig. 15, 4. The Group B sandy wares from Area 2 conform with those from Area 1, except there are no Hard Grey Ware or ' unglazed tripod pitcher ' sherds.

Flinty Ware

This type of fabric (described on p. 83) is confined to Group B, occurring from both areas. It has a grey core, but the surface colour is extremely variable, even on the same pot. The interior is normally black or grey, but light grey pink or buff examples also occur. The exterior is normally pink, buff or brown, but darker grey and black exteriors can be found.

Apart from one example described below, the only types of vessel in this fabric from either area are cooking-pots. There is quite a wide range of rim forms but normally they are squat, slightly everted, and expanded into an external or internal flange (FIG. 19, 51–52, 54–63). Some show thumbing on the outside of the rim, their only decoration (FIG. 19, 64–67). This type of flinty fabric is rare in Oxford during the late 12th to 13th centuries, but cooking-pots in this fabric with the same general range of rim forms occurred at Seacourt during the 13th century (*Biddle*, Fig. 22, 3, 5).

The only example of anything other than a cooking-pot in this fabric (although not typical) and the only example with decoration other than rim thumbing, is the storage jar illustrated in Fig. 19, 53.

Although the flinty cooking-pots make their first appearance fully evolved (in layer 64 of Area 1), Table I shows how they gradually increase in quantity during the period of Group B.

Calcite B

Under this heading come two types of fabric in which calcite, in the form of shell or limestone, is the only tempering material, unlike the earlier Calcite A. There are few Calcite B sherds from Area 2 and they never exceeded 10% of the total sherds in any of the layers counted (Table I). The fabric is smooth to the touch, and where much shell has been added, feels soapy. The inside is sometimes vesiculated where the calcite has been washed away. The first fabric under this heading is called ' Bowl Ware ' since only bowls occur in it. Their fabric contains much tempering material, almost all of the calcite being shell. They have a grey core, a purplish-brown exterior and an interior ranging from greyish brown to pink. Typically the rim is plain (as in Fig. 21, 96, 97), but occasionally some thickening is shown (FIG. 21, 98). There was also one example with a flange rim and a handle (FIG. 21, 99). The fabric and form of these bowls is unusual for their date, and out of context they would have been regarded as much earlier.

The other fabric under this heading is called ' Pot and Jug Ware ', from the vessels occurring in it. The calcite tempering material ranges from almost entirely shell to almost entirely limestone grit, but in general there is somewhat more limestone than in ' Bowl Ware '. Sherds have a grey core, and usually pink interior and exterior with some dark brown areas on the exterior.

Some of the cooking-pots in this fabric show internal rilling clearly indicating that, unlike any of the other unglazed vessels (and few of the glazed ones), they had been wheel-thrown rather than made on a turntable. A wide range of sizes and rim forms occur (FIG. 20, 69–80). They have a well-defined base angle, and none of the vessels show any sign of decoration.

A somewhat similar type of fabric was in use in Oxford during the later 12th-earlier 13th centuries although the rim forms of these cooking-pots are rather different (*Jope* (1958), Fig. 18, Z13–16, and p. 71).

Ovoid jugs with strap handles also occur in this fabric at Tetsworth (FIG. 15, 7, 8).

Statistical Analysis of Pottery Groups A and B

The number of sherds of the different types of pottery was counted from selected layers within the stratigraphic series above the Phase II bank from Area 1 and Area 2. The layers chosen were all securely stratified and, where possible, contained a large number of sherds without too many of them coming from a single vessel. Unfortunately, all the pottery groups from Area 2 were small, so the percentages calculated for each pottery type will not be as reliable as those from Area 1. Layers 15 and 65 in Table I are indicated on Section B–C (FIG. 12) and layers 76 to 19 on Section E^1–D^1 (FIG. 12). (For linking these two sections, layer 68 on Section E^1–D^1 is the same as 10/1 on section B–C). The groupings used in Table II can be seen on section J–L (FIG. 12).

Both tables show the differences between Pottery Groups A and B clearly, with the appearance of the new fabric types of Group B at the expense of the total percentage of sandy sherds. Table I shows the flinty ware gradually increasing in importance throughout the life of Group B. However, it is likely that the actual proportion of pots in use in this fabric was higher during the earlier Group B layers than the percentage of sherds seems to indicate because there was so much residual pottery being deposited after intensive occupation began in Area 1. An indication of this is given by the surprisingly high number of sherds joining ; not only from different layers within a phase, but from different phases.

POST-DESERTION POTTERY

A few later Medieval and post-Medieval sherds came from layer 1, the turf and topsoil covering the site, with a large amount of residual 12th- and 13th-century pottery. The later Medieval sherds included some fragments of highly decorated jugs from the end of the 13th to the 14th centuries of the type in New Bodleian Group C (*Bruce-Mitford*, 123–4).

The post-Medieval sherds are largely Staffordshire slipwares, salt glaze stonewares and tin glaze china, some with blue figure decoration.

DATING

Internal Dating

The pottery as a whole can be used to give cross dating to the stratigraphic sequences of Areas 1 and 2, and the section from Area 1 across ditch 3.

Phase III of Area 1 can be divided into the part when Group A coarse pottery was being used, Phase IIIA, and the part when it had been replaced by Group B, Phase IIIB (for features in each see interpretation plan, Figs. 13 and 14).

All the pottery from Phase III of Area 2 belonged to Group A, that is, it contained no flinty or Calcite B wares, and some of the rims had been decorated in the characteristic way for the group. It is likely that Phase III of Area 1 had begun before Phase IIIA of Area 2 because the earlier layers of this phase in Area 2 contained fabrics very infrequent or absent from Area 1, i.e. Calcite A and coarse sandy ware. Phase III of Area 2 could have come to an end by the end of Phase III A of Area 1, but it is likely that it went on longer. If this is so, it means there was a phase between the demolition of House C and the building of House B. It seems far more likely that these events occurred at the same time. No occupation layer remained inside House C ; all the finds dated from its construction, and in the rubble and cobbles which covered it, Phase IV of Area 2, were two sherds of tripod pitcher ware with white slip decoration. Sherds of this type first occur in Area 1 from layer 57 just

Table 1 : Pottery from Selected Layers of Area 1

Pottery Group	Layer	Glazed				Sandy					Flint	Calcite 'B'			Roman	Total Sherds in Sample	Phase for Area 1
		Tripod Pitcher %	Red Fabric %	Others %	Total %	Fine/ Medium %	Coarse %	M.40 %	Hard Grey %	Total %	%	Bowl %	Pot and Jug %	Total %			
A	15/1	1·1			1·1	96·1	0·4	1·4		97·9					1·1	279	III A
B	64	1·5		'Rod Handle' 0·3	1·8	67·4		5·5		73·0	16·0	3·1	6·2	9·2		325	III B
	76	2·9		Bottle 1·1	3·9	61·3		6·4		67·7	19·7	2·5	5·7	8·2	0·4	279	IV
	57	2·1		Tripod Pitcher with slip 0·6	2·6	63·5	0·6	2·1	1·5	67·9	20·1	0·9	8·5	9·4		340	
	46/1	1·7	0·16		1·9	48·8		3·1	1·1	53·0	36·4	2·4	6·3	8·7		1284	V
	19	2·1	0·3	'Mottled Green' 0·9	3·3	48·0	0·9	2·9	0·6	52·4	37	0·6	6·8	7·4		336	VI

Table 2 : Pottery from Area 2

Pottery Group	Layer	Glazed			Sandy				Flint	Calcite A	Calcite B Pot	Total Sherds in Sample	Phase for Area 2
		Tripod Pitcher	Tripod Pitcher with slip	Total	Fine/ Medium	Coarse	M.40	Total					
		%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%		
A	Below House C				44	41	7	93		7		41	III
	Walls and Floor of House C	2		2	84	5		89		10		62	
B	Demolition Rubble and cobbles above C	6	2	8	56	5	14	74	14		3	86	IV

under the wall of Barn A, of the very end of Phase IV–beginning of Phase V for that area.

None of the other types of later glazed pottery came from Area 2, but the sample size is so small that they would not be expected. Therefore the end of occupation in Area 2 cannot be fitted with any particular phase of Area 1.

The conclusions that can be drawn from the relative dating are that site Phase IIIA activity began in Area 2 somewhat before Area 1, and that whilst the structures of Area 2 remained standing throughout site Phases IIIB and IV, no pottery was deposited after the end of Phase IIIA. (Area 1 and site Phases IIIA, IIIB and IV equal Area 2 Phase III). Phase IV of Area 2 began at the same time as Area 1 (and site) Phase VA. It seems unlikely that it extended beyond the end of Area 1 (and site) Phase VB, after which there was nothing in Area 2.

Relative Dating

Area 1 has, on stratigraphic evidence, been divided up into Phases from I to VI, which are the same as the site phases. The phases of Area 2 have been linked with them (Phases I and II correspond stratigraphically to site Phases I and II, the others are linked by pottery, see above). The features belonging to each phase are shown on the interpretation plans (FIGS. 13 and 14).

The earliest feature of Phase I, gully 102, can only be dated as Roman from the two coarse ware sherds. The burnt area on top of the gully, feature 103, was 3rd or 4th century, dated by Oxfordshire colour-coat. The group of cobbles, 95, had two Medieval sandy sherds of indeterminate date, but is likely to be 11th century from its stratigraphic context. The burnt area and old topsoil above them were late 11th–early 12th century. The pottery can be matched with that beneath Oxford Castle mound (*Jope* (1952)). The only glazed fabric is Stamford type ware, which ceases to be used in the Oxford region around the end of the 11th century (*Jope* (1958), 34–38). Stamford type Ware could, of course, indicate an earlier date, but the absence of any St. Neots type Ware is against this.

The Phase II bank can be given a late 11th–early 12th century date on the basis of the Phase I pottery sealed beneath it. That the single sherd from the bank (FIG. 21, 100) is a St. Neots type Ware derivative rather than an actual St. Neots type Ware tends to support this date.

Phase IIIA began in the 12th century and finished some time before the end of it. Tripod pitcher is the only glazed ware, and elsewhere this first comes into use early in the 12th century. The second part of this phase, IIIB, takes it to the end of the 12th century. Ordinary tripod pitcher predominates, but there is a simple rod handle from a jug similar to one from Well 2 of the New Bodleian. This was the earliest of the Group A wells which are late 12th–early 13th century and likewise the jug occurred with tripod pitchers (*Bruce-Mitford*, 115–118).

Phase IV began around the end of the 12th century and ended some time in the first half of the 13th century. Part of a tripod pitcher identical to one from a late 12th century well from St. John's College (*Jope* (1950), Fig. 16, 6), occurred in the construction material of the Phase IV hollow. In the infill of the hollow, sealed immediately beneath the Phase V barn's wall and cobbles were sherds of a tripod pitcher with a white slip decoration from a jug with multi-coloured decoration and a sherd from an unglazed jug with a thumbed base. Thumbed bases occur no earlier than the beginning of the 13th century whilst similar multi-coloured jugs were found in Well 1 of the New Bodleian which was dated to the early 13th century (*Bruce-Mitford*, 118–119).

Phase V on the evidence of the pottery could also have been over before the middle of the 13th century, for no new types of glazed pottery appear. However, this would make Phases IV and V very short and it is more likely that Phase V is mid 13th century.

Phase VI, during which there were no buildings standing on the site but before

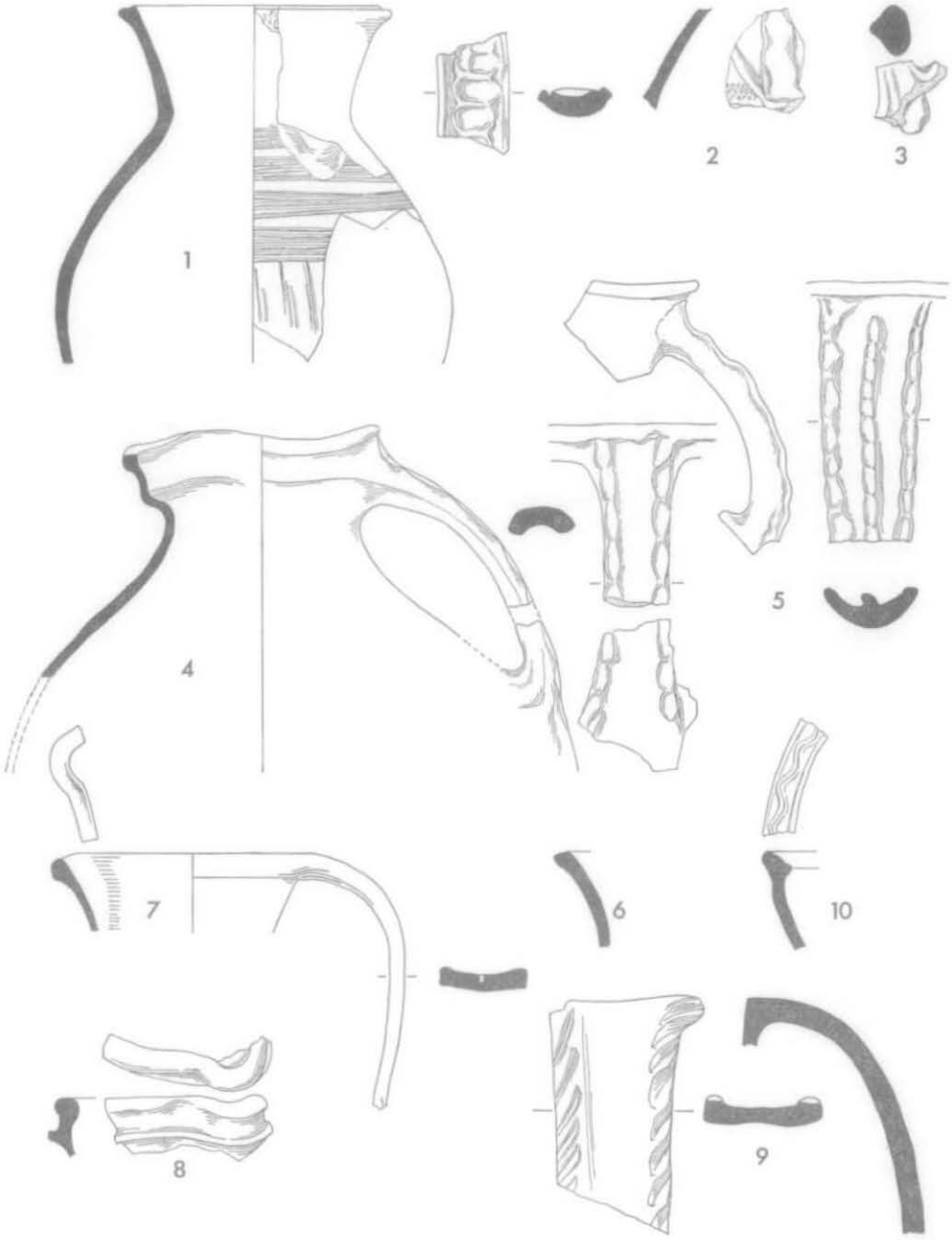


FIG. 15
Glazed pitchers (1–3), sandy jugs (4–6), shelly jugs (7–9), and ' fish dish ' (10). ($\frac{1}{4}$).

its total abandonment, was late 13th century, possibly extending a little way into the 14th century from the presence of a number of mottled green sherds and part of the handle of a ' three-decker ' jug (*Hinton* (1969), 26). However, there is a lack of sherds from other types of late 13th–early 14th century highly decorated jugs of New Bodleian Group C (*Bruce-Mitford*, 124). They certainly reached Tetsworth for sherds of them occur from layer 1.

Pottery Group A can be dated to the 12th century and Group B to the late 12th–13th century. However, the reasons for the change from Group A to B may have been very local and not typical of the whole region so their use for dating sites elsewhere will be limited. The Hard Grey Ware and the ' unglazed tripod pitcher ware ' are very much 13th century fabrics at Tetsworth whilst the other types of unglazed pottery in Group B span its whole date range.

DESCRIPTION OF SHERDS ILLUSTRATED

This has been kept as brief as possible ; since the colour of Medieval pottery is so variable, it will only be stated where it differs from that typical for its fabric (described above). The dates given are for the context only, not the sherd itself.

FIG. 15. Glazed Pitchers (1–3), Sandy Jugs (4–6), Shelly Jugs (7–9), and Fish Dish (10). All with Group B pottery :

1. Tripod pitcher with combed decoration and yellowish-green glaze. Handle probably from the same vessel. Medium sandy fabric. (Area 1, Phase IV, layer 79 : beginning of 13th cent.)
2. Tripod pitcher body sherd. Rouletted—an unusual feature. Olive glaze, medium sandy fabric. (Area 1, Phase IV, layer 48/2 : end of 12th, beginning of 13th cent.)
3. Base of handle of ' three-decker ' jug. Mottled green glaze, pale fine sandy fabric. (Area 1, Phase VI, layer 4 : late 13th, early 14th cent.)
4. Jug in Hard Grey Sandy Ware. Distorted during firing (Area 1, Phase IV, layer 57 : early 13th cent.)
5. Jug with tiered everted rim. Medium sandy fabric. (Area 1, Phase VI, layer 4 : late 13th, early 14th cent.)
6. Jug rim. Medium sandy fabric. (Context as 5.)
7. Jug in Calcite B. (Area 1, Phase V, layer 60 : mid 13th cent.)
8. Jug rim in Calcite B. (layer 1).
9. Handle in Calcite B. (Area 1, Phase VI, layer 18 : late 13th, early 14th cent.)
10. ' Fish Dish.' Yellow green glaze internally. (Area 1, Phase V, layer 46/2 : mid 13th cent.)

FIG. 16. Group A Cooking-Pots (11–22) and Storage Jar (23) :

11. Medium sandy fabric, lightly combed ' M.40 Ware '. (Area 1, Phase III, layer 3/5 ; 12th cent.)
12. Medium sandy fabric, lightly combed ' M.40 Ware '. (Area 1, Phase III, layer 65/5 : 12th cent.)
13. Coarse sandy fabric. (Area 2, Phase III, layer 28 : 12th cent.)
14. Medium sandy fabric. Diameter 27 cm. (Area 2, Phase III, layer 33 : 12th cent.)
15. Fine sandy fabric. Rim impressions made with a tool rather than by thumbing. (Area 1, Phase III, Shed 15 : 12th cent.)
16. Fine sandy fabric. Knife trimming on body. (Context as above.)
17. Calcite A. (Area 2, Phase III, layer 14/5 : 12th cent.)
18. Fine sandy fabric. (Area 2, Phase III, layer 14/5 : 12th cent.)
19. Medium sandy fabric. (Area 2, Phase III, layer 36 : 12th cent.)

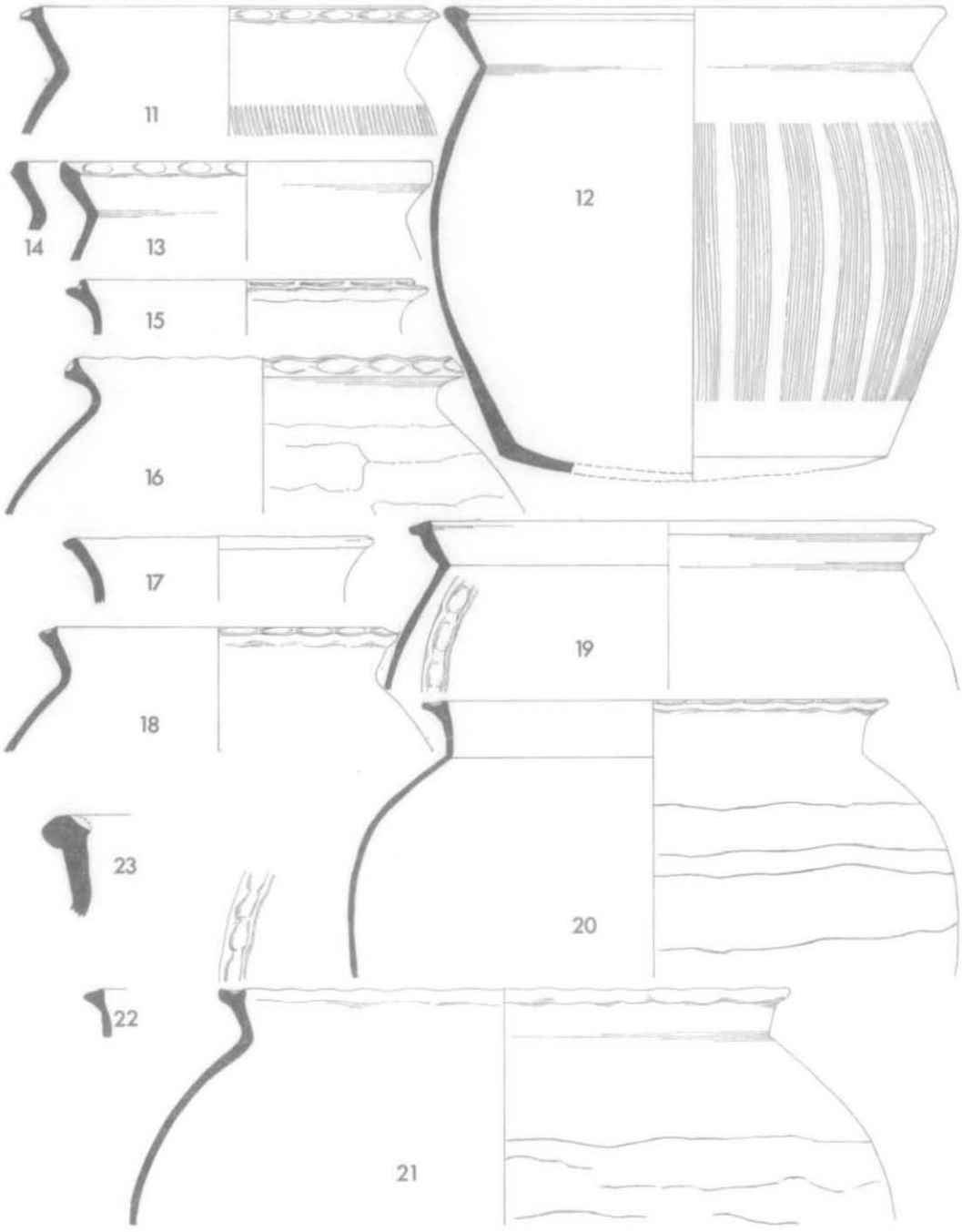


FIG. 16
Group A cooking-pots (11–22) and storage jar (23). (¼).

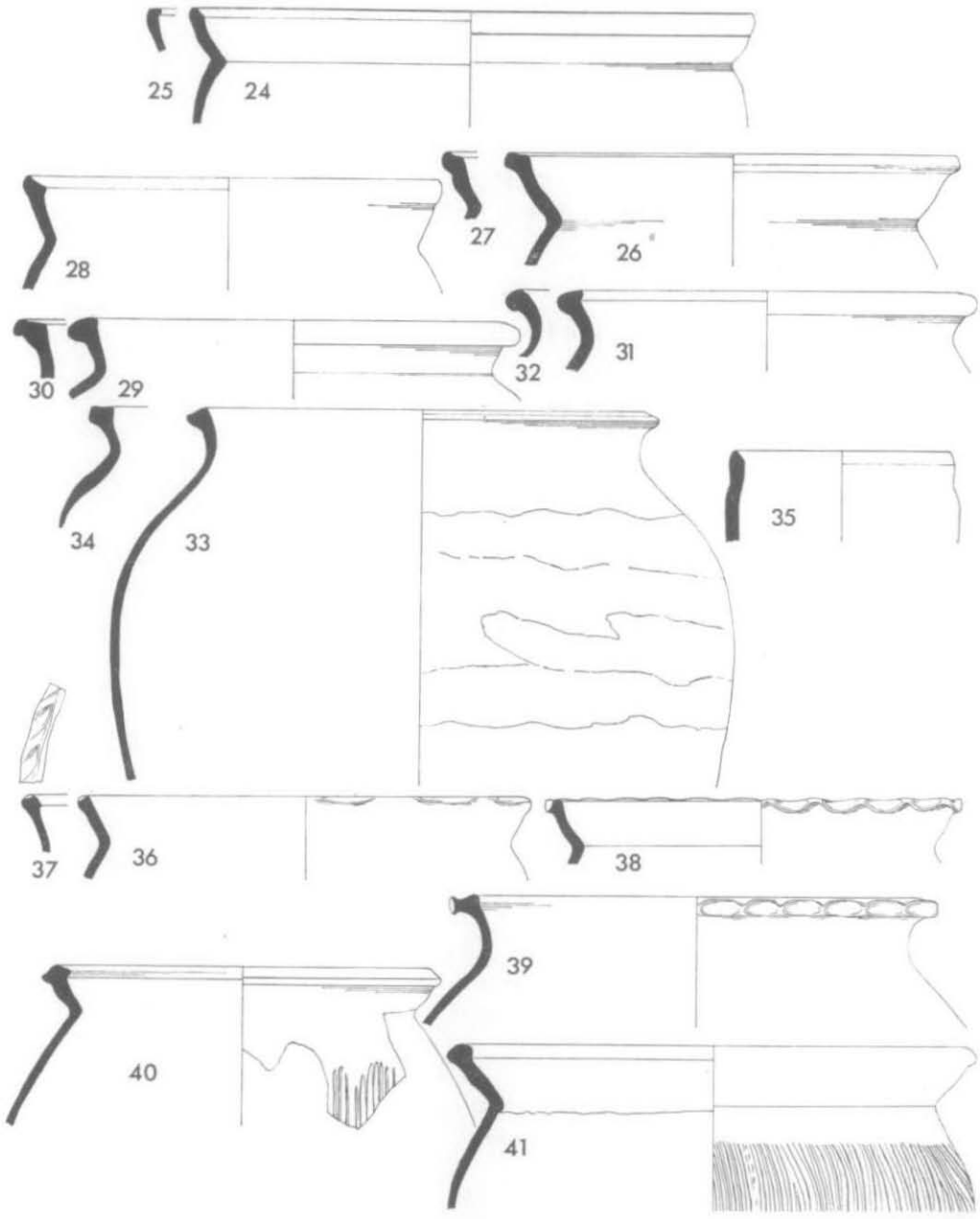


FIG. 17
Group B sandy cooking-pots. (¼).

20. Fine sandy fabric. Knife trimming on body surface. (Area 1, Phase III, Shed 15 : 12th cent.)
21. Medium sandy fabric. Knife trimming on body surface. (Context as above.)
22. Fabric and context as for 20, D. 19 cm.
23. Storage jar rim. Medium sandy fabric. (Area 2, Phase III, layer 14/5 : 12th cent.)

FIG. 17. Group B Sandy Cooking-Pots :
24. Medium sandy fabric. (Area 1, Phase III, layer 64 : end of 12th cent.)
25. Fine sandy fabric. D. 17 cm. (Area 1, Phase V, layer 42/3 : mid 13th cent.)
26. Medium sandy fabric. (Area 1, Phase V, layer 88/1 : mid 13th cent.)
27. Medium sandy fabric. D. 26 cm. (Area 1, Phase VI, layer 4 : late 13th, early 14th cent.)
28. Fabric and context as 27.
29. Fine sandy fabric. (Area 1, Phase III, layer 64 : end of 12th cent.)
30. Medium sandy fabric. D. 30 cm. (Area 1, Phase IV, layer 8 : end of 12th, beginning of 13th cent.)
31. Fine sandy fabric. (Area 1, Phase VI, layer 4 : late 13th, early 14th cent.)
32. Fine sandy fabric. D. 28 cm. (Area 1, Phase III, layer 64 : end of 12th cent.)
33. Fine sandy fabric. Knife trimming on body. (Area 1, Phase III, pit 10 : end of 12th cent.)
34. Fine sandy fabric. Knife trimming on body. D. 22 cm. (Area 1, Phase VI, layer 4 : end of 13th, early 14th cent.)
35. Sherd of uniform black colour, crudely made in a medium sandy fabric with some coarser grains. Neither its form nor fabric are typical of Group B and it is likely to be much earlier than its context. (Area 1, Phase IV, layer 55/1 : early 13th cent.)
36. Medium sandy fabric. (Area 1, Phase IV, layer 59 : early 13th cent.)
37. Fabric and context as for 36. D. *c.* 25 cm.
38. Medium sandy fabric. (Area 1, Phase VI, layer 4 : late 13th, early 14th cent.)
39. Fabric and context as for 38.
40. Medium sandy fabric, heavily combed ' M.40 Ware '. (Area 1, layer 134 : late 13th cent.)
41. Medium sandy fabric, heavily combed ' M.40 Ware '. (Area 1, Phase VI, layer 4 : late 13th, early 14th cent.)

FIG. 18. Group B Storage Vessels (42–47) and unusual Sandy Cooking-Pots (48–50) :
42. Fine sandy fabric, pinching around rim and applied vertical slip with fingering. (Area 1, Phase V or VI, pit 26 : late 13th cent.)
43. Medium sandy fabric with the occasional large flint grit. Applied horizontal and vertical strips. (Area 1, Phase IV, layer 79 : beginning of 13th cent.)
44. Fine sandy fabric. Other sherds from this vessel indicate fingering on the applied strip lower down. (Area 1, Phase V, layer 60 : mid 13th cent.)
45. Fine sandy fabric with applied strip around neck. (Area 1, Phase IV, layer 127/5 : early 13th cent.)
46. Medium sandy fabric. (Area 1, Phase VI, layer 18 : late 13th, early 14th cent.)
47. Medium sandy fabric with pinching around neck. (Area 1, Phase IV, layer 59 : early 13th cent.)
48. Medium sandy fabric, with a buff surface. In ' unglazed tripod pitcher ' ware. Note finger-nail impressions around the rim. (Area 1, Phase VI, layer 32/1 : late 13th, early 14th cent.)
49. Hard Grey Sandy Ware. (Area 1, Phase V, layer 46/1 : mid 13th cent.)
50. Hard Grey Sandy Ware discoloured by burning. (Area 1, Phase VI, layer 38 : late 13th, early 14th cent.)

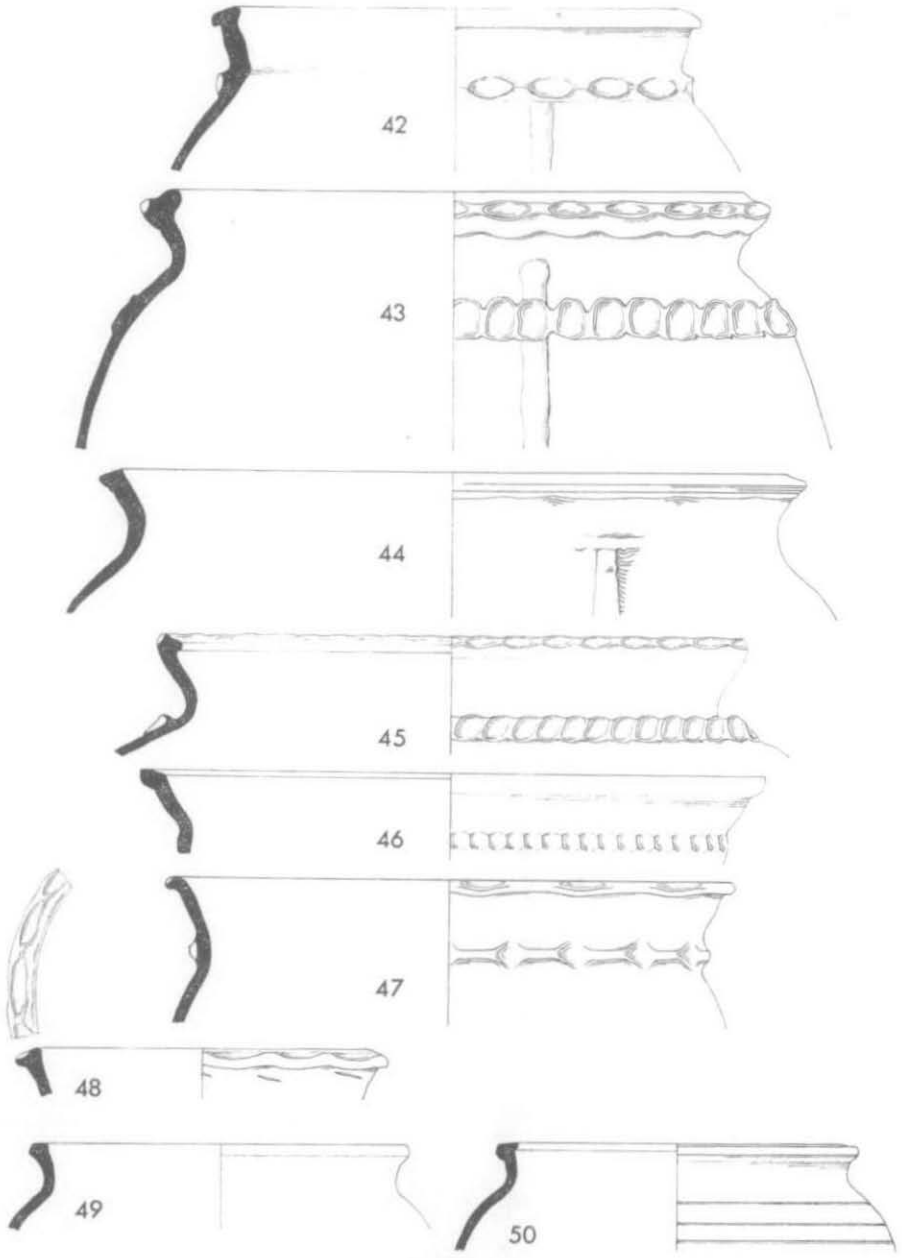


FIG. 18
Group B storage vessels (42–47) and sandy cooking-pots (48–50). (¼).

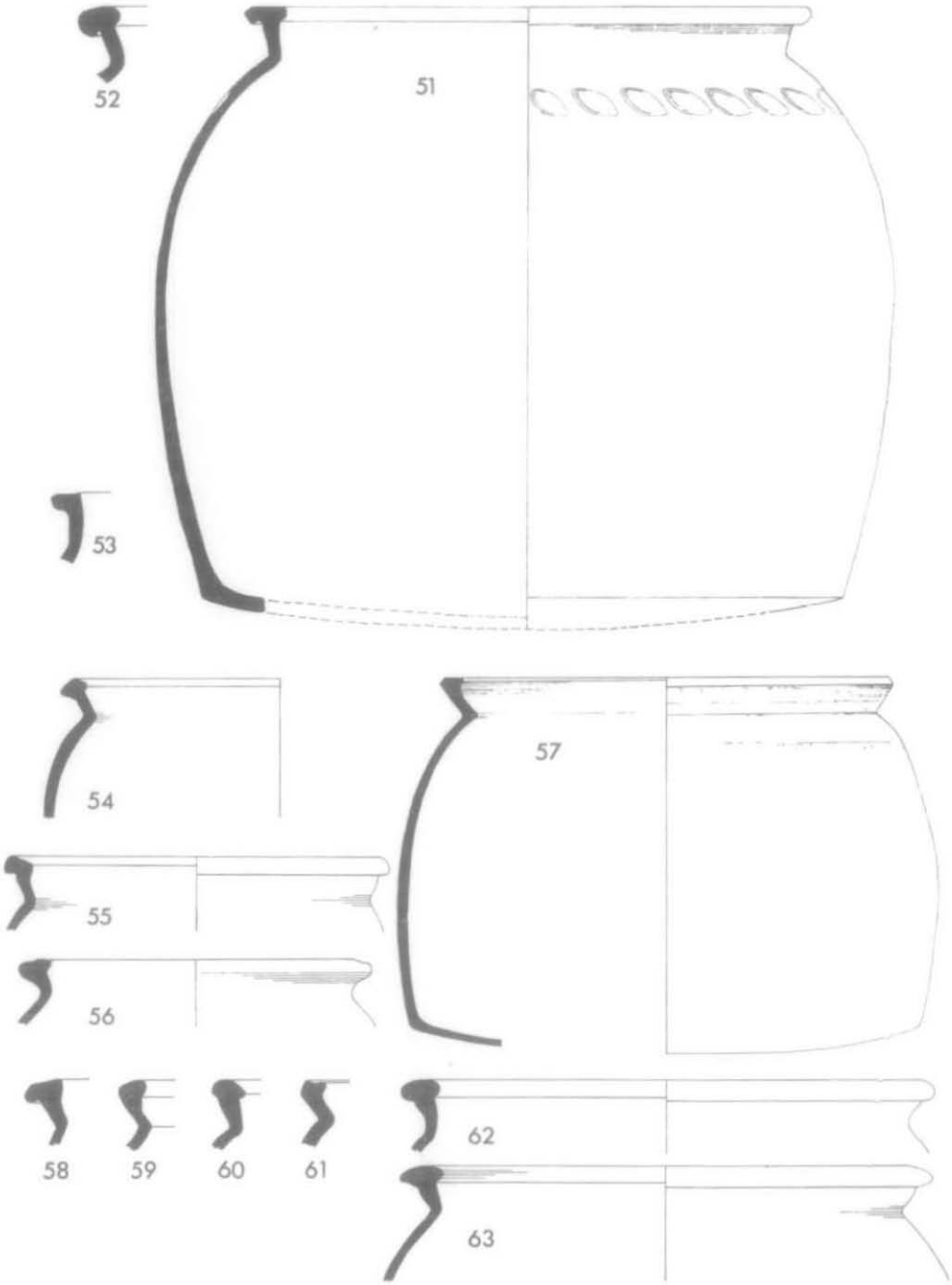


FIG. 19
Group B flinty ware. ($\frac{1}{4}$).

FIG. 19. Group B Flinty Cooking-Pots (50–52, 54–63) and Storage Vessel (53) : All except 53 are in the typical fabric, containing sand, crushed limestone and flint grits.
51. The finger impressions on the body are more likely as a result of fabrication rather than decoration. (Area 1, Phase V, layer 52/1 : mid 13th cent.)
52. D. 32 cm. (Area 1, Phase VI, layer 18 : late 13th, early 14th cent.)
53. Rim from a storage vessel in atypical fabric. Almost completely lacking flint, it is tempered with crushed limestone and medium to coarse sand. The surface is very black, again atypical. A body sherd from this vessel had an applied vertical fingered strip. D. 32 cm. (Area 1, Phase V, layer 65/1 : mid 13th cent.)
54. (Area 1, Phase V, layer 60 : mid-13th cent.)
55. (Context as for 54.)
56. (Area 1, Phase III, layer 64 : end of 12th cent.)
57. (Area 1, Phase V, hearth 16 : mid 13th cent.)
58. D. 30 cm. (Area 1, Phase III, layer 64 : end of 12th cent.)
59. D. 28 cm. (Area 1, Phase VI, layer 18 : late 13th, early 14th cent.)
60. (Area 1, Phase V, layer 60 : mid 13th cent.)
61. D. 30 cm. (Area 1, Phase V, layer 46/1 : mid 13th cent.)
62. (Area 1, Phase IV, layer 59 : early 13th cent.)
63. (Area 1, Phase IV, layer 57 : early 13th cent.)

FIG. 20. Group B. Flinty Cooking-Pots (64–67) and Calcite Group B Cooking-Pots (68–80) :
64. (Area 1, Phase III, layer 64 : end of 12th cent.)
65. (Area 1, Phase VI, layer 19 : end of 13th cent., early 14th cent.)
66. (Area 1, Phase V, layer 46/2 : mid 13th cent.)
67. (Area 1, Phase IV, layer 59 : early 13th cent.)
68. An atypical Calcite B cooking-pot. Cruder than those described below, with atypical rim form and surfaces varying from black to brown. (Area 1, Phase V, layer 53/1 : mid 13th cent.)
69. Typical Calcite B. (Area 1, Phase VI, layer 18 : end of 13th, early 14th cent.).
70. D. 13 cm. Context as for 69
71. D. 20 cm. (Area 1, Phase VI, layer 4 : end of 13th, early 14th cent.)
72. (Area 1, Phase VI, layer 18 : end of 13th cent., early 14th cent.)
73. (Area 1, Phase V, layer 60 : mid 13th cent.)
74. (Area 1, Phase VI, layer 4 : late 13th, early 14th cent.)
75. (Area 1, Phase IV, layer 57 : early 13th cent.)
76. D. 22 cm. (Area 1, Phase VI, layer 50 : late 13th, early 14th cent.)
77. D. 29 cm. (Area 1, Phase III, layer 64 : end of 12th cent.)
78. D. 26 cm. (Area 1, Phase VI, layer 78 : late 13th, early 14th cent.)
79. D. 21 cm. (Area 1, Phase V, layer 46/2 : mid 13th cent.)
80. (Area 1, Phase VI, layer 4 : late 13th, early 14th cent.)

FIG. 21. Sandy Bowls (81–95) and Calcite Bowls (96–100) :
81. Medium sandy fabric with knife trimming on the exterior. (Area 1, Phase III, layer 64 : end of 12th cent.)
82. Fine sandy fabric, context as for 81.
83. Medium sandy fabric. (Area 1, Phase IV, layer 76/4 : beginning of 13th cent.)
84. Coarse sandy fabric. (Layer 1.)
85. Medium sandy fabric. D. 32 cm. (Area 1, Phase VI, layer 50/1 : late 13th, early 14th cent.)
86. Medium sandy fabric. (Area 1, Phase VI, layer 4 : late 13th, early 14th cent.)
87. Fine sandy fabric, some thumbing on the edge of the rim. D. 24 cm. Context as for 86.

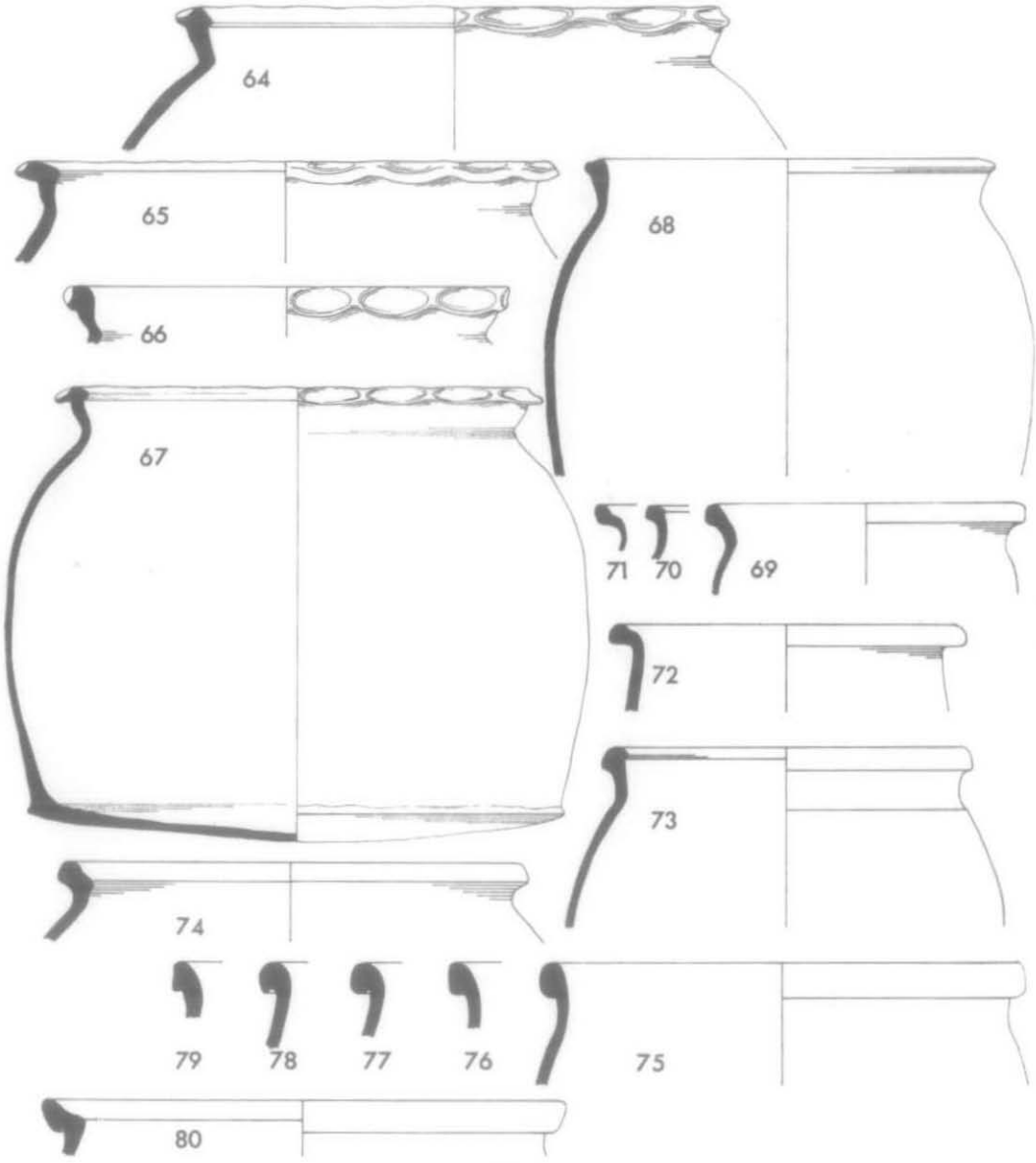


FIG. 20

Group B flinty cooking-pots (64–67) and calcite Group B cooking-pots (68–80). (¼).

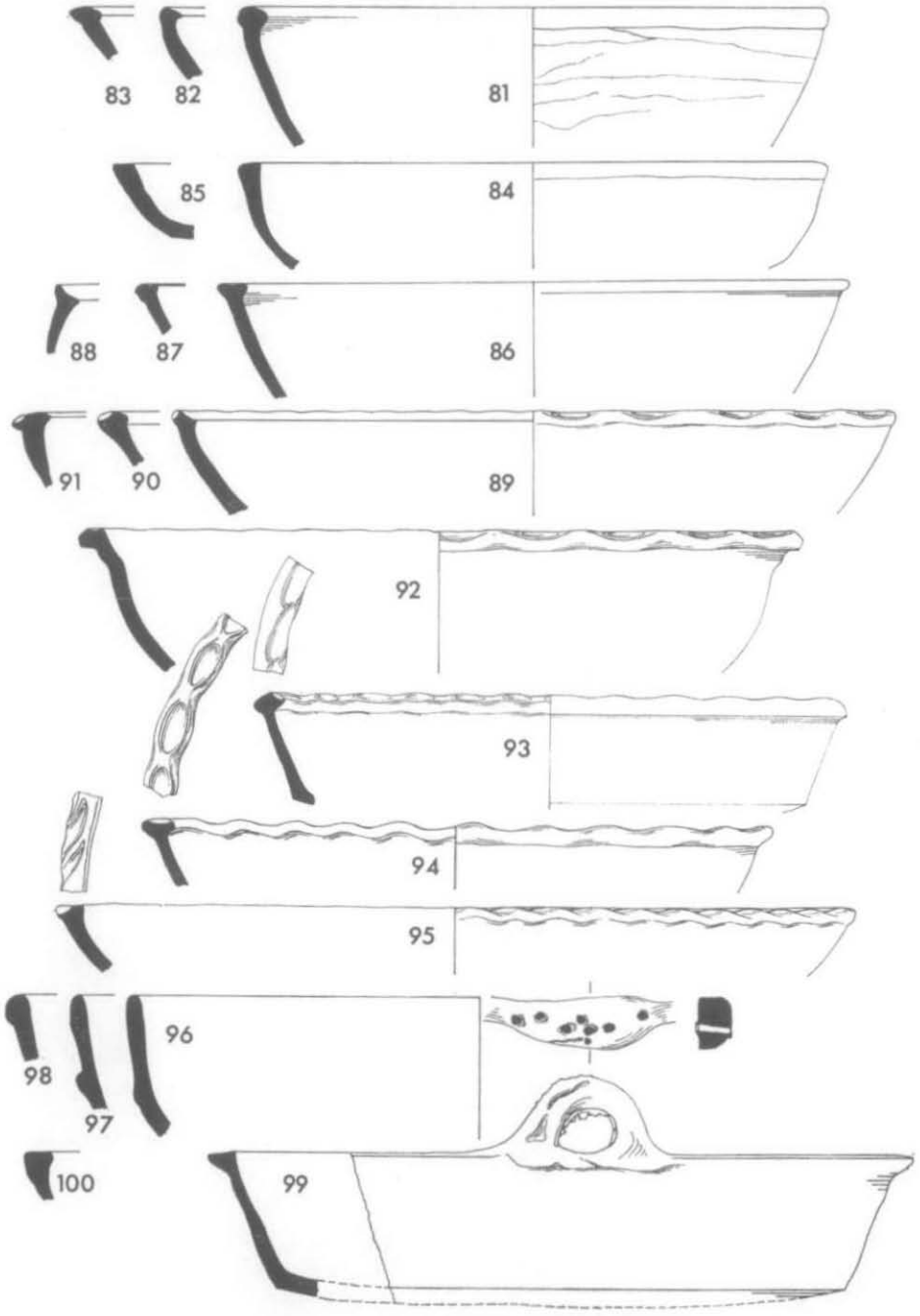


FIG. 21
Sandy bowls (81–95) and calcite bowls (96–100). ($\frac{1}{4}$).

88. Medium sandy fabric. D. 32 cm. (Area 1, Phase III, hut 15 : 12th cent.)
89. Fine sandy fabric. (Area 1, Phase VI, layer 4 : late 13th, early 14th cent.)
90. Medium sandy fabric. (Area 1, Phase III, layer 64 : end of 12th cent.)
91. Fine sandy fabric, knife trimming on exterior. (Area 1, Phase V, layer 46/2 : mid 13th cent.)
92. Medium sandy fabric. (Area 1, Phase IV, layer 62 : early 13th cent.)
93. Medium sandy fabric with some knife trimming on the exterior. (Machine trench M–N, layer 26.)
94. Medium sandy fabric. (Area 1, Phase IV, layer 68 : end of 12th, beginning of 13th cent.)
95. Fine sandy fabric. (Area 1, Phase VI, layer 4 : late 13th, early 14th cent.)
96. Calcite B. (Area 1, Phase III, layer 64 : end of 12th cent.)
97. Calcite B. (Area 1, Phase VI, layer 77 : late 13th, early 14th cent.)
98. Calcite B. (Area 1, Phase V, layer 42/1 : mid 13th cent.)
99. Calcite B. (Area 1, Phase VI, layer 4 : late 13th, early 14th cent.)
100. Clay fabric tempered with crushed shell and medium to coarse grained sand. Purple-black exterior, brown interior, and a grey core. St. Neots type derivative. (Area I, Phase II, layer 40 : late 11th, early 12th cent.)

SMALL FINDS

COINS

The only coin found was a James II tin farthing of 1684–7 (*Seaby*), and was from the topsoil.

OBJECTS OF BRONZE (FIG. 22.)

1. Circular double buckle. D. 2·5 cm. (Area 1, Phase VI, layer 32/1 : late 13th, early 14th cent.)
2. Penannular brooch of bronze wire with soldered hemispherical bronze terminals. Some traces of gilding. D. 2 cm. Probably Roman. (Area 1, Phase IV, layer 12, the construction of the hollow : late 12th, 13th cent.)
3. Bronze tweezers. L. 3·3 cm. Almost certainly Roman. (Area 1, Phase III, from hearth 39 : end of 12th cent.)

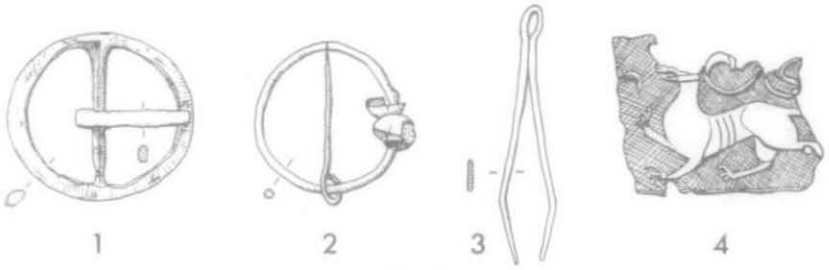


FIG. 22
Bronze objects. (½).

4. Piece of sheet bronze, 2·5 cm. × 2·1 cm. On a hatched background, an animal and scroll repoussé. The animal which wears a spiked collar is probably a hunting dog. Probably 13th–14th cent. (Area 1, from the topsoil.)
Not illustrated. Crudely beaten bronze strip, broken at both ends, slightly curved, L. 15 cm., W. 9 mm., Th. just under 1 mm. Traces of gilding. One end pierced by a hole *c.* 1 mm. D. Probably part of a casket handle. (Area 1, Phase VI, layer 4 :

late 13th, 14th cent., but could be earlier ; found close to shed 15 from Phase III, and this contained some fragments of gold leaf in its fill.)

OBJECTS OF IRON

Knives (FIG. 23)

5. Pointed-tang knife. Blade L. 8·8 cm. ; tang, rectangular in section, L. 5·6 cm. Prominent shoulder between tang and back of blade. (Area 1, Phase VI, layer 4 : late 13th, 14th cent.)
6. Pointed-tang knife. Blade L. 11·7 cm., rather massive and V-shaped in section. Tang, rectangular in section, L. 6 cm., with only a small shoulder between it and back of blade. Iron binding of handle survived in place, and there were traces of wood from it surviving in the rust on the tang and the inside of the binding. (Area 1, Phase VI, layer 50/1 : late 13th, 14th cent.)

Tools (FIG. 23)

7. End 15 cm. of sickle blade. (Area 1, Phase VI, layer 18 : late 13th, 14th cent.)
8. Pruning hook, much of blade missing. Tang, rectangular in section, L. 5·4 cm. Traces of its wooden haft surviving in the rust. (Area 1, Phase IV, layer 57 ; the fill to the hollow : 13th cent. A second one was recovered from layer 65/1, Phase V.)
9. Part of pick head. W. 3·5 cm., splaying out slightly towards the end. Th. only 6 mm., so unlikely to survive use on anything other than soil. End rounded by use, so not an adze. (Area 1, Phase IV, layer 68, the construction of the hollow : late 12th, 13th cent.)
10. Spike, 11·5 × 1·4 cm. (Area 1, Phase V, Layer 46 : 13th cent.)
11. Broken pointed object, L. 5 cm. It probably had an eye. (Area 1, Phase III, Shed 15 : 12 cent.)

Horse Fittings (FIG. 24)

12. Prick spur, L. 14·5 cm. Curved arms with terminals corresponding to *L.M.M.C.* type BB8 (pp. 94–103), suggesting a 13th century date. (Area 1, Phase VB, pit 27 : late 13th cent.)
13. Part of wavy edged horseshoe. Narrow, with a calkin. Large rectangular countersunk depression to take a fiddle-key nail (described below and illustrated Fig. 25, 15). The wavy edged horseshoe is not found after the 13th century (*L.M.M.C.*, 115). (Area 1, Phase V, layer 46, inside barn A : 13th cent. A similar piece of wavy edged horseshoe was recovered from Phase IV.)
14. Broken horse or ox shoe, the latter suggested by its asymetrical shape. There are no calkins and it is broad with a smooth outline. There is only a slight trace of countersinking for the nails. (Area 1, Phase I, from the area of cobbles, 96, which are 11th–early 12th cent., but also produced Roman finds.)

Nails (FIG. 24)

The nails from the site can be divided into horseshoe and structural nails. There were two types of horseshoe nail, the ' fiddle key ' and a wedge-shaped nail.

15. ' Fiddle key ' horseshoe nail. This type of nail is of almost equal thickness in side view, only tapering slightly towards the point. In plan view, the shank tapers markedly to the point, and the head of the nail is pentagonal, with a point to the top. The shank is rectangular in section. The pointed heads of most of the nails found had been worn round or flat by use.

This type of nail is for use on wavy edged horseshoes which have deeply countersunk nail holes (*L.M.M.C.*, 112), which do not occur later than the 13th century (see Fig. 24, 13). They first appear on the site at the beginning of Phase III (12th century) and by Phase VI (late 13th–14th century) their numbers have dropped to such a low

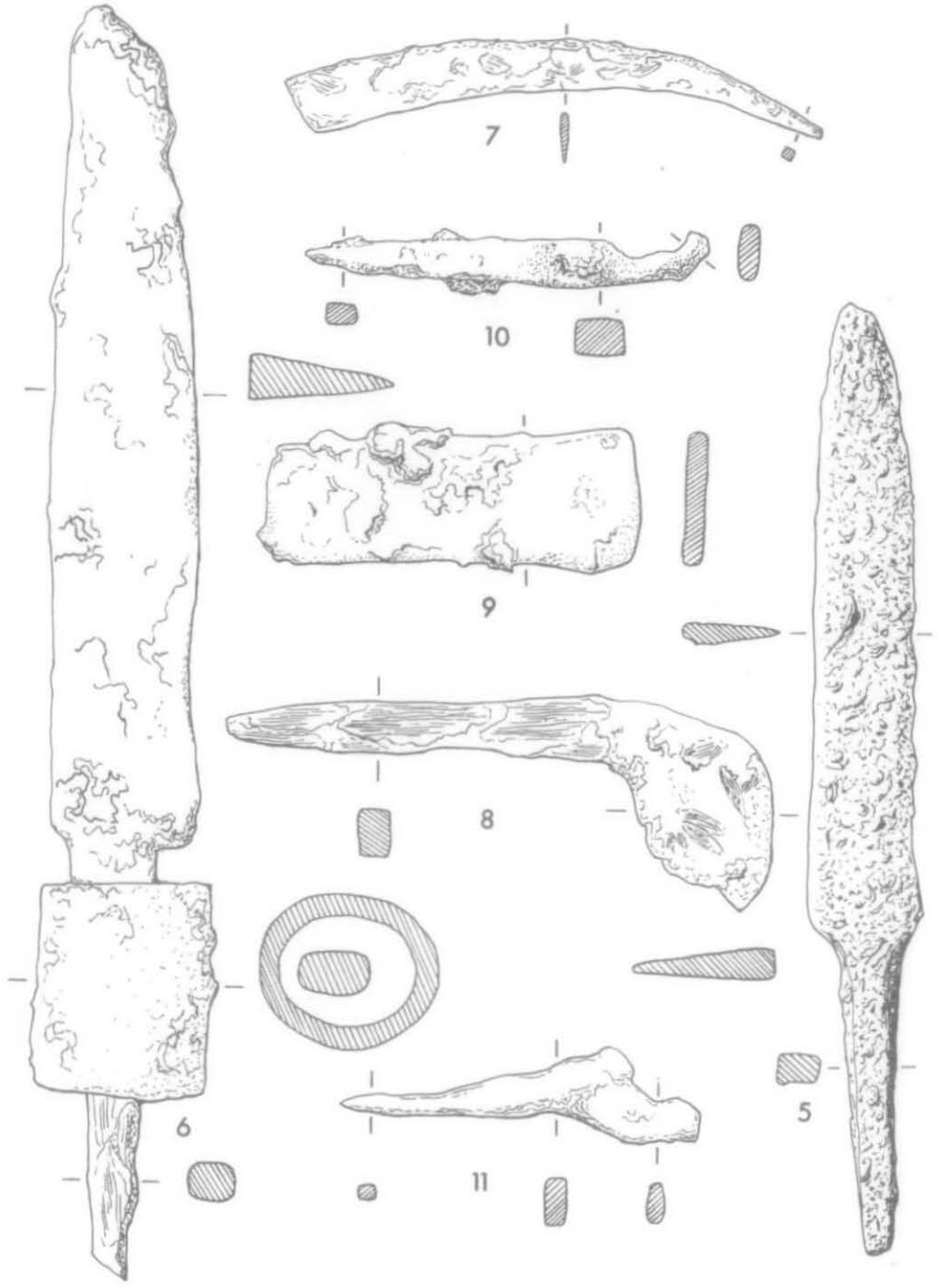


FIG. 23
Iron objects ($\frac{1}{4}$, except 7, 9, 10 : $\frac{1}{8}$).

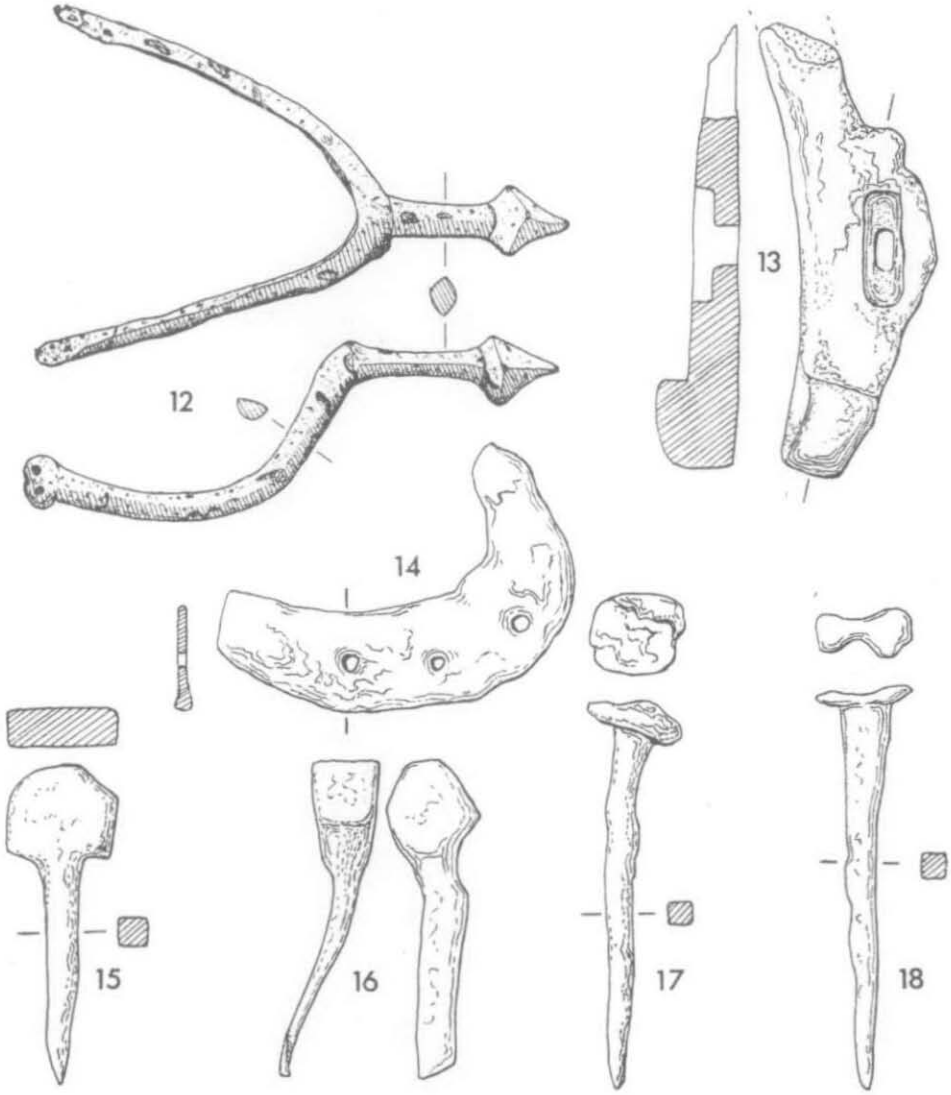


FIG. 24
Iron objects. ($\frac{1}{1}$, except 12, 14 : $\frac{1}{2}$).

proportion of the horseshoe nails from the site that they may only be residual (Table 3).

16. Horseshoe nail. In side view it is wedge-shaped, the head being an inverted triangle and the shank tapering from twice its width at the top to the point. In plan view the shank is wide and does not taper at all. The head is hexagonal, with a flat side at the top. The shank is rectangular in section. The heads of most of this type of nail from the site had been so worn that in plan view they were trapezoidal.

These nails first appear on the site in small numbers during Phase IV (Area 1, the burnt layers of the hollow, early 13th cent.), but not until Phase VI (late 13th–14th century) do they greatly exceed ' fiddle key ' nails in number.

Apart from two nails with domed rectangular heads and rectangular shanks, all the structural nails from the site were of two types, both of which first appear at the beginning of Phase III and continue in use throughout the duration of the site.

17. Round headed nail. The head has a flat top which is roughly round ranging in different examples from a diameter of 1 cm. to 2 cm. The shank is rectangular in section.

18. Figure of eight headed nail. The head is flat and figure of eight-shaped. The shank is rectangular in section (Ascot Doilly Type 3, *Jope* (1959), 266, Fig. 20, no. 8). This was the more common of the two types of structural nail.

Table 3 : Nails from layers 18 and 19

Horseshoe Nails		Structural Nails	
Fiddle Key	Wedge-Shaped	Figure of Eight Head	Round Head
16	77	12	3
93		15	

Layers 18 and 19 (Area 1, Phase VI, late 13th–14 cent., see plan 61, Fig. 7), produced an extremely large number of nails, 108 in all. This is all the more surprising, considering that most of these layers were removed by spading. Table 3 gives the number of each type found.

Layers 18 and 19 are dateable to the late 13th–14th century by their pottery. This is confirmed by the horseshoe nails, only a small proportion of them being of the ' fiddle key ' type which does not occur later than the 13th century (*L.M.M.C.*, 112).

The large number of horseshoe nails from the above layers suggest that smithing was being carried out in or near Area 1 during Phase VI.

Other Iron Objects (FIG. 25)

19. Barrel-padlock key, *L.M.M.C.* type B (pp. 146–8, Fig. 44 no. 2). Expanded shank L. 11–2 cm., with hook terminal. (Area 1, Phase VI, layer 121 : late 13th, 14th cent.)

20. Barrel-padlock, L. 6·6 cm. Very rusted, no trace of internal mechanism. (Area 1, Phase VI, layer 4 : late 13th, 14th cent.)

21. Single buckle, D-shaped, max. W. 5·4 cm. (Area 1, Phase VI, layer 4 : late 13th, 14th cent.)

22. Hooked iron object, L. 2·9 cm. Hook with ball terminal, the other end flat and riveted as if it had once been fixed to a piece of leather. The hook might have had a cord passed through it, alternatively, it might be a horse pendant fitting. (Area 1, Phase VI, layer 18 : Late 13th, 14th cent. A similar, but damaged object came from Phase IV.)

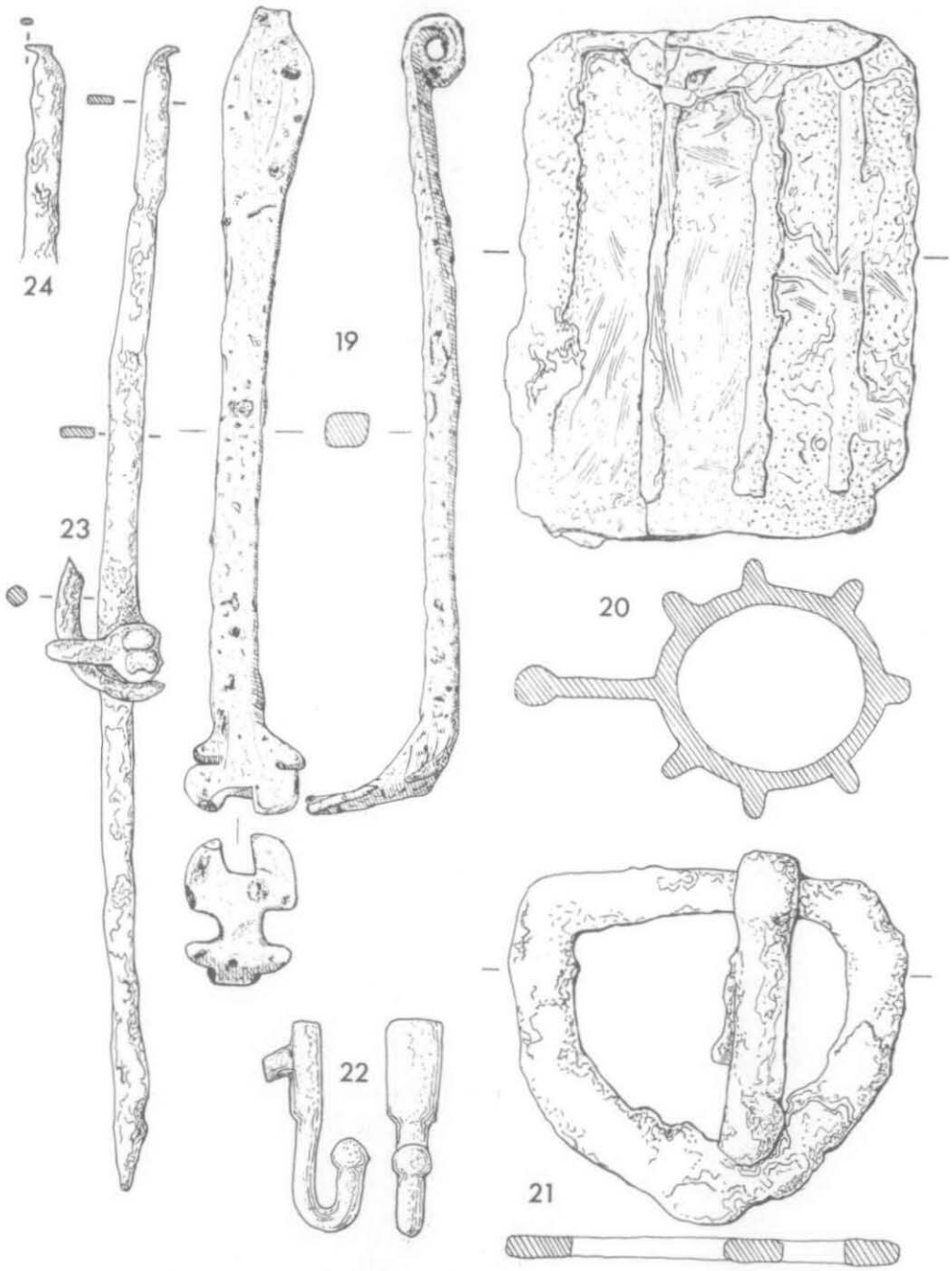


FIG. 25
Iron objects. ($\frac{1}{4}$, except 23, 24 : $\frac{1}{2}$).

23. Equal armed balance. It consists of an iron bar, L. 31·5 cm., rectangular in section, with hooks at either end. Around its centre a rectangular-sectioned U-shaped strip of iron, both ends flattened, and fixed to the bar by two rivets through its ends causing it to grip the bar. There is part of an iron ring through the loop thus formed from which the balance would have been suspended. (Area 1, Phase VI, layer 32/1 : late 13th, 14th cent.)

24. The arm of a second balance, identical in length to 20 above, but broken in two. The end of one arm only is illustrated to show a better surviving terminal hook than 20. (Area 1, Phase V, layer 46, inside barn A : mid 13th cent.)

OBJECTS OF BONE (FIG. 26)

25. Gaming counter. Originally D. 5·4 cm., of slightly polished bone decorated on one face with compass incised concentric rings around a central drilled hole. The concentric rings do not all share exactly the same centre. It also has a series of drilled holes, each within the circle between the outermost two concentric rings. Whilst the holes themselves have not been placed very regularly, the ring surrounding them always shares its centre and has the same diameter. This suggests that they were both incised in a single drilling operation with a special tool. A similar one, probably datable to the 12th century, was found in Oxford (*Radcliffe*, 59, Fig. 15, no. 11). (Area 1, Phase III, layer 18 : mid 13th cent.)

26. Part of a horn handle. Crude knife cuts from its fabrication ; a hole, D. 9 mm. drilled through. Probably the handle of a strip-tang knife, a type mainly 14th century and later (*L.M.M.C.*, 51). (Area 1, Phase VI, layer 18 : late 13th, 14th cent.)

27. Knife handle, L. 8 cm. Traces of working, a groove around one end, a few knife cuts trimming the surface, and the hollowing out of some of the core. (Area 1, Phase VI, layer 18 : late 13th, 14th cent.)

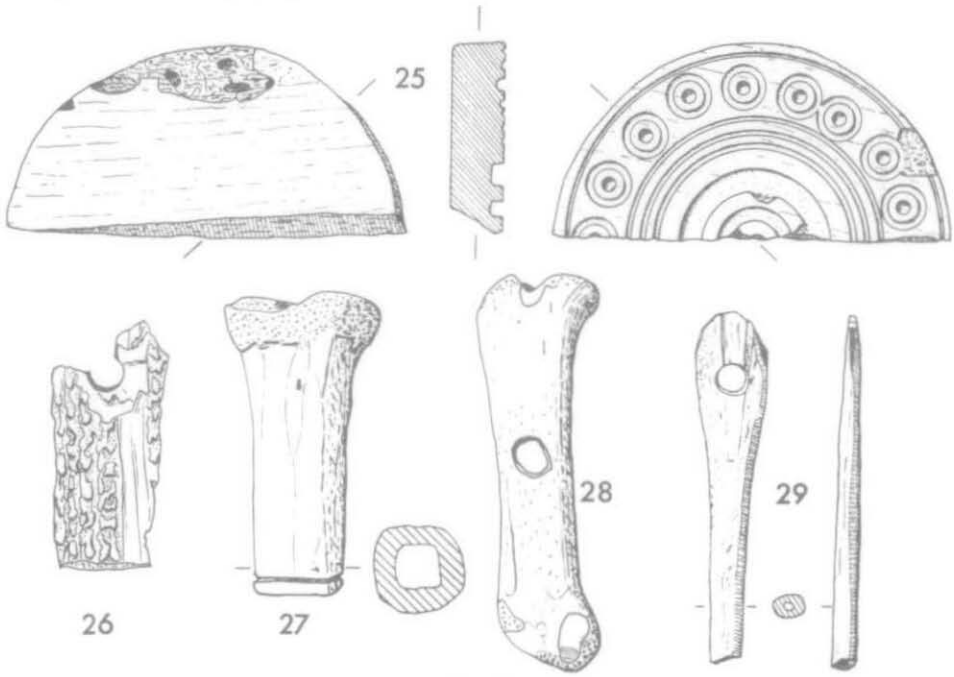


FIG. 26

Bone objects. (½, except 26, 27 : ¼).

28. Bobbin. Its only trace of working a 5 mm. hole bored through. (Area 1, Phase VI, layer 33 : late 13th, 14th cent.)
29. Bodkin with point missing. A channel cut behind the eye to guide the thread. (Area 1, Phase V, layer 42/1 : 13th cent.)

CUT-DOWN ROMAN COLOUR-COATED POT BASES (FIG. 27)

With 21 other Roman sherds from Medieval layers are five cut-down bases from colour-coated vessels described below. They have all been quite deliberately cut to shape. Since there were so few other Roman sherds from the site, it is likely that they had been collected and cut down during Medieval times from a Roman occupation site, rather than from a kiln, since several different pottery types are represented.

Their use can only be conjectured. Perhaps they were used as gaming pieces ; a 12th century bone gaming counter (25) was also found. One of them (28) had two depressions ground into it, perhaps to obtain a cosmetic paste.

30. Cut-down Oxfordshire colour-coated base. Orange fabric with grey core and red colour coat. Two small depressions ground into the inside surface. (Area 1, Phase V, layer 47/1, the wall of barn B : mid 13th cent.)
31. Cut-down Oxfordshire colour-coated base. Red fabric and worn red colour-coat. (Area 1, Phase IV, layer 79 : beginning of 13th cent.)
32. Cut-down colour-coated pedestal base. Fine hard fabric, damaged by burning. (Area 1, Phase III, hearth 39 : end of 12th cent.)

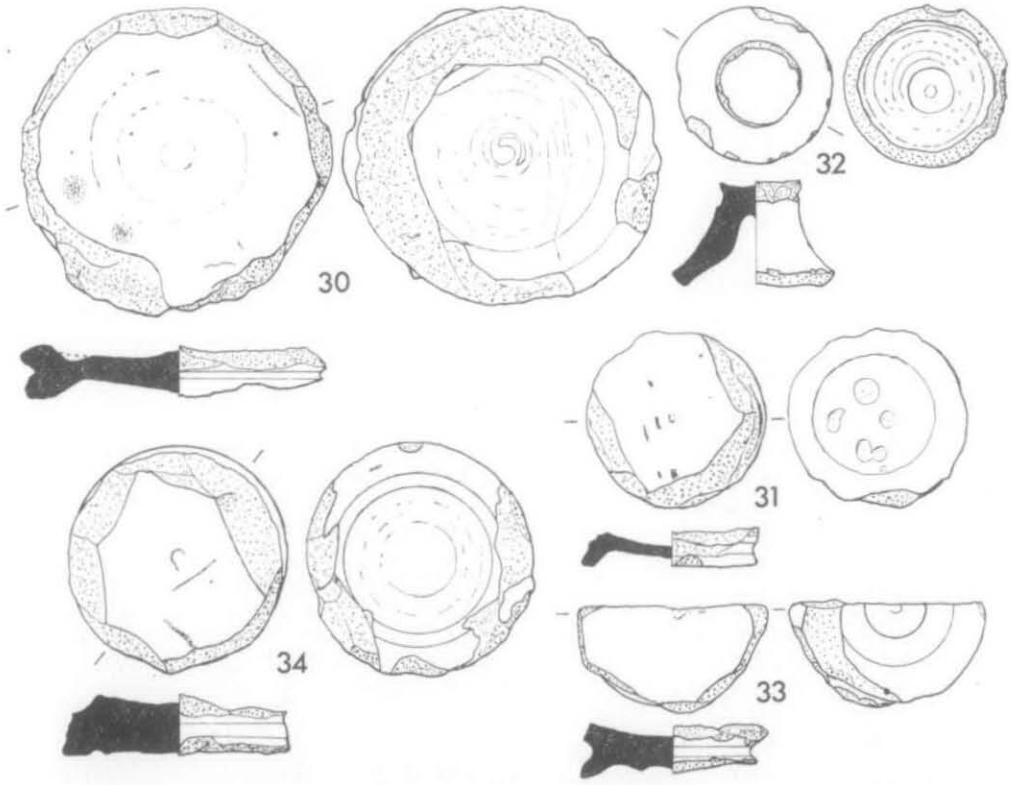


FIG. 27
Cut down Roman pot bases. (½).

33. Cut-down Oxfordshire colour-coated half base. Pink fabric with grey core and traces of red colour coat. (Area 1, Phase III, shed 15 : 12th cent.)
34. Cut-down Oxfordshire colour-coated base. Orange fabric with grey core and traces of white colour coat. (Area 1, Phase VI, layer 38 : late 13th, early 14th cent.)

ROCKS

Mr. H. P. Powell kindly examined a number of geological specimens from the site and the following report is based on his notes.
Stone from wall of House B : Not Headington stone. It is a calcareous, glauconitic sandstone (with an internal mould of the bivalve *Trigonia*). Probably from the Portland Beds (Upper Jurassic), between Oxford and the Chilterns. All three buildings had walls in a similar stone.
Four specimens of ferruginous material (Layer 4, Area I, Phase VI). These appear to be natural ironstone. They vary between themselves in the amount of iron ore and in the proportion of admixed clay and quartz grains, but all are typical concretionary ironstone such as occurs in Wealden Beds (Lower Cretaceous) of Shotover and the district north-eastwards towards Aylesbury.
Quern : Part of the upper stone of a rotary quern, 30 cm. in diameter and 5·5 cm. thick. It is in a vasicular basalt (lava), a common rock type. The handle had been set 5 cm. from the edge. (Area 1, Phase II or III, layer 44.)
Whetstone : Quartz-mica-schist. Broken, rectangular section. (Area 1, Phase VI, layer 4.)
Whetstone : Quartz-mica-schist. Description and context as last.
Whetstone : Quartz-mica-schist. Description as last. (Area 1, Phase V, layer 46.)
Whetstone : Sandy limestone. Description as last. (Area 1, Phase IIIB, layer 64.)
Two worked flints were found, one from layer 1 of Area 1, the other from the Phase IV cobbles of Area 2, layer 17. Mr. A. G. Sherratt examined them and said that they had been frost split, but their edges had been used.

IRON SLAG

A number of pieces of slag were found in Area 1 and examined by Mr. J. P. Northover. Apart from a single piece of cinder from Shed 15 (Phase III), they were all from the Phase VI layers, and consisted of tap slag and cinder.

This indicates that iron smelting was being carried out at Tetsworth during the late 13th and early 14th centuries, at a site not yet located, but shown by the presence of imported iron ore.

THE ECOLOGICAL EVIDENCE

The soil conditions, alkaline clayey loam, were ideal for the preservation of vertebrate bones and molluscan shells. However, they would not have been suitable for the preservation of pollen in the old ground surfaces. There were no permanently water-logged features which would have preserved insects and plant material, the only plant remains found being carbonized ones.

All bones and snail shells found during the excavation were saved. In addition, 2 kg. soil samples were saved from selected layers. These were water-sieved through a stack of fine mesh sieves, and their contents examined. They were mostly carbonized seeds and snail shells, but in addition there were some frog bones from ditch 3 and some burnt fragments of a large bird's egg from layer 76/5 (Phase IV hollow).

Location of the soil samples (*All from Area 1*)

3/5, 3/4, 3/3/3, 3/3/2, 3/3/1 and 3/2 : layers of ditch 3 in ascending order, located on section A–D (FIG. 12) ; layer 3/3 has been split into three layers, 3/3/1 being uppermost. 103/1.

Material from the Phase I burnt area 103 and the old topsoil sealed beneath it. (Plan, Fig. 3 ; Section, Fig. 12, E^1–D^1.)
41. Old topsoil sealed beneath the Phase II bank. (Section, Fig. 12. E^1–D^1.)
72/2. Bottom layer of the Phase III shed 15. (Plan, Fig. 4 ; section, Fig. 12, B–C.)
76/5. Earliest burnt layer of the Phase IV hollow. (Plan, Fig. 5 ; Section, Fig. 12, E^1–D^1.)
57. Earth fill of the Phase IV hollow. (Section E^1–D^1, Fig. 12.)
42. Occupation material to the north of Phase V barn A. (Section E^1–D^1, Fig. 12.)

Carbonized seeds

Cereals

Wheat is by far the most common, although oats make up a significant proportion of the cereals. Barley is represented by a single grain only and there is no rye.

Legumes

The beans are perhaps *Vicia faba*. Other legume seeds had been badly charred but may be vetch.

The large number of carbonized cereal grains from the site suggests that grain was being dried by fire and that some of it was accidentally burnt. Likewise this could also account for the carbonized beans.

The majority of the carbonized grain came from the Phase IV hollow in Area 1. This gives support to the idea that it was used for threshing and that corn drying was either carried out on the threshing floor or that the chaff was burnt off there.

It would be dangerous to assume that the ratio between the wheat and oats from the hollow, 76/5, represents the true ratio in which they were grown, but oats did not outnumber wheat from any of the samples from any phase. Barley was very rare.

The other seeds can be divided into two main groups, the first being trees and shrubs, oak, elder and sloe, all of which are likely to be found in hedgerows. The second group, dock and composite, are ubiquitous weeds.

The possible vetches could either be cultivated or wild.

Molluscan Remains

The only marine molluscan remain found is a fragment of the common cockle (*Cardium edule*) from pit 65C, presumably brought to the site as food.

All the other molluscs are land snails from their natural habitats. Individuals of *Helix hortensis* and *H. nemoralis* were saved when noticed during excavation, the other snails were recovered from the sieving of the soil samples. They have all been included in Table V.

The most common snail is *Cecilioides acicula*, a burrowing species which has been found alive at depths of up to 2 m.,[111] so many of the individuals are likely to be modern. The other species generally confirm the idea of the ecological conditions under which their particular layer was being deposited.

The species from the bottom of ditch 3, layer 3/5, can be divided into two ecological groups, marsh dwellers and shade loving species, those which require damp, sheltered habitats.[112] Belonging to the first group are all the British species of *Succinea*, which occur neither in freshwater, nor the drier terrestial habitats. *Lymnaea truncatula* is amphibious. Species of *Oxychilus* and *Vitrea crystallina* are shade lovers. All the other species can occur in marsh habitats.

These results suggest that the bottom of the ditch was marshy and that the duration of its primary silting was long enough for its sides to become overgrown with tall herbage or scrub, providing a suitable habitat for the second group.

[111] J. G. Evans, *Land Snails in Archaeology* (1973), 168.
[112] *Ibid.*, 194–203.

Table 4 : Carbonized seeds

Layer	103/1	41	72/2	76/5	57	42	3/5	3/4	3/3/3	3/3/2	3/3/1	3/2
Species												
Wheat (Triticum sp.)			6	43	3	7			11	12	1	1
Oats (Avena sp.)			2	16	2				2	2	1	
Barley (Hordeum sp.)			1									
Bean				3			1		1	2		
Vetch				3								
Oak (Quercus sp.)				1								
Sloe ? (Prunus spinosa)				1								
Elder (Sambucus nigra)							2					
Dock (Rumex sp.)	1											
Compositae ?	1											
Unidentified non-cereals	1						1	2				

Table 5 : Snails

Layer	103/1	41	72/2	76/5	57	42	3/5	3/4	3/3/3	3/3/2	3/3/1	3/2
Species												
Snails												
Lymnaea truncatula							8		4			
Succinea (pfeifferi)							3					
Cochlicopa sp.									8	6		
Vertigo pygmaea									1			
Vertigo sp.					1							
Vallonia costata										1		
V. (pulchella or exentrica)					1	6			2	5	1	
Cecilioides acicula	9	1	15	24	42	31				2	2	2
Helix hortensis							1					
H. nemoralis				3		1	22	5				
Hygromia striolata						2						
Helicidae sp. (juv.)	1						1		1	3		1
Vitrea crystallina							1					
V. contracta	1									2		
Oxychilus (cellarius)						1	8		5	1		
Slugs												
Limax or Agriolimax							2					

As the ditch was filled, the marsh group disappears while the shade loving group remains. For example, by the level of 3/3/3 *Succinea* disappears and *Lymnaea* has gone by 3/3/2.

The lack of any stratified snails from 72/2 can be explained by it being a layer inside shed 15, but layer 41, the old ground surface, also has a complete lack of snails despite the soil being suitably calcareous. This suggests frequent ploughing of the old Phase I ground surface.[113]

There are not sufficient individuals to draw conclusions about the other layers.

The colour and banding of Individuals of Helix nemoralis

The majority of those from ditch 3 when viewed from above present an appearance of brown bands on a yellow ground, tending to confirm the other evidence for mixed herbage and scrub along the sides of the ditch. Those from 76/5 present a yellow appearance from above, suggesting a green habitat (e.g. grass growing on the floor of the threshing hollow after its use).[114]

Table 6. Colour and Banding of *Helix nemoralis*

Layer	3/5	3/4	76/5	42/1
Ground colour and banding :				
Yellow 00000	2			
00300			2	
00345			1	
12345	8	2		1
(12)3 (45)	1			
(123) 45		1		
(123) (45)		1		
Brown 00000		1		

THE ANIMAL BONES. By JOHN PERNETTA

In writing this short report on the bone material, it is important to begin with a number of points. Firstly, there are far more domestic than wild mammal remains ; so that little can be said concerning the general ecology of the Tetsworth area at the time. The presence of deer in the bones from Phases III and VI might suggest the proximity of woodland, whilst the hare from Phases III, V and VI might suggest open moor or farm land.

In general, the only difference between phases is seen between Phases I and II and all the others, because of the low percentage of pig and the high percentage of horse, a difference which would suggest that pigs during this stage of habitation, were not part of the staple economy.

Few differences were observable between the bones recovered and those of modern forms. On the whole, however, the sheep, goose, and fowl are somewhat smaller than their modern equivalents, and the horse remains are small, more like riding ponies than work horses. Many of the adult pig remains have well-developed tusks unlike later domestic forms, suggesting that in fact the pigs were semi-feral rather than permanently penned. Most of the bones are from adult animals.

[113] *Ibid.*, 91 (Assuming similar sample sizes from the different habitats in the table).

[114] A. J. Cain and P. M. Sheppard, ' The effects of Natural Selection on body colour in the Polymorphic land snail *Cepaea Nemoralis* ', *Heredity*, IV (1950), 275–94. A. J. Cain and P. M. Sheppard, 'Natural Selection in *Cepaea* ', *Genetics*, XXXIX (1954), 89–116.

The bones recovered from Phases III–VI were mainly limb bones : ribs, vertebrae, skull fragments, and foot bones being reduced in numbers. This suggests that the occupants of the site were eating more choice cuts of meat, rather than the stews that might be expected from an ordinary peasant dwelling. The presence of game, deer, hares, partridge and the large numbers of goose bones would tend to support this general conclusion, as would the merlin.

Many of the larger limb bones have been split to extract the bone marrow. Although none of the bones show signs of sawing, a few have been cut, and a large number have been gnawed, presumably by domestic dogs and cats, bones of which were recovered from Phases III–VI.

In conclusion, it may be stated that the animals were in all probability butchered away from the site, that the quality of the joints eaten is extremely high, and that the bones do not indicate the diet of an ordinary peasant.

Table 7 : Percentage of Total Bones in each Phase

	Bos	*Equus*	*Ovis*	*Sus*
Phases I & II	40·6	20·8	24·0	13·5
Phase III	24·1	3·5	32·8	36·3
Phase IV	29·4	1·2	27·0	41·1
Phase V	30·8	2·7	30·1	32·2
Phase VI	30·1	2·5	33·6	28·6

Table 8 : Mammal Bones

Phases I and II

Species	Number of Bones	Percentage of Total	Minimum Individuals Present
Bos sp. Ox	39	40·6	2
Equus caballus. Horse	20	20·8	2
Ovis sp. Sheep or Goat	23	24·0	2
Sorex araneus. Common Shrew	1	1·0	1
Sus scrofa. Pig	13	13·5	2
Total	96	—	—

Phase III

Species	Number of Bones	Percentage of Total	Minimum Individuals Present
Bos sp. Ox	28	24·1	1 ad. + 1 imm.
Canis ? Dog ?	1	0·9	1
Cervidae. Deer	2	1·7	1 Damma damma (+ 1 Cervus elephus) ?
Equus caballus. Horse	4	3·5	1
Lepus europaeus. Hare	1	0·9	1
Ovis sp. Sheep or Goat	38	32·8	4 ad. + 2 imm.
Sus scrofa. Pig	42	36·3	3 ad. + 2 imm.
Total	116	—	—

Phase IV

Species	Number of Bones	Percentage of Total	Minimum Individuals Present
Bos sp. Ox	25	29·4	2 ad. + 1 imm.
Canis ? Dog ?	1	1·2	1
Equus caballus. Horse	1	1·2	1
Ovis sp. Sheep or Goat	23	27·0	4 ad. + 1 imm. + IV. imm.
Sus scrofa. Pig	35	41·1	4 ad. + 1 imm.
Total	85	—	—

Also 2 frog and 1 fish bone

Phase V

Species	Number of Bones	Percentage of Total	Minimum Individuals Present
Bos sp. Ox	45	30·8	4
Equus caballus. Horse	4	2·7	1
Felis sp. Cat	1	0·7	1 imm.
Lepus europaeus. Hare	3	2·1	2
Ovis sp. Sheep or Goat	44	30·1	7 ad. + 1 imm.
Rattus rattus. Black Rat	2	1·4	1
Sus scrofa. Pig	47	32·2	3 ad. + 1 imm.
Total	146	—	—

Also 1 fish bone

Phase VI

Species	Number of Bones	Percentage of Total	Minimum Individuals Present
Bos sp. Ox	79	30·1	5 ad. + 1 imm.
Canis familiaris. Dog	2	0·7	1
Cervidae. Deer	7	2·7	1 Capreolus capreolus (+ 1 Damma damma) ?
Equus caballus. Horse	6	2·5	1
Felis sp. Cat	3	1·1	1 ad. + 1 imm.
Lepus europaeus. Hare	2	0·7	1 ad. + 1 imm.
Ovis sp. Sheep or Goat	88	33·6	7 ad. + 1 imm.
Sus scrofa. Pig	75	28·6	7 ad. + 1 imm. + 1 sucking
Total	262	—	—

Also 1 frog bone

BIRD REMAINS. By D. BRAMWELL

Table 9 : Bird Bones

Species	Individuals from each Phase					
	I. & II.	III.	IV.	V.	VI.	Ditch 3
Anser anser—Domestic goose		3/4	1	2	1	1
Anser anser—Domestic goose, small					1	
Anas platyrhynchos—Domestic duck					1	1
Gallus variety—Domestic fowl, adults		2	3	2	1	1
pullets		1	3	5	2	
? capons			1			1
Falco columbarius—Merlin			1			
Perdix perdix—Partridge				2		
Columbid sp.—? stock dove			1			

General Comments

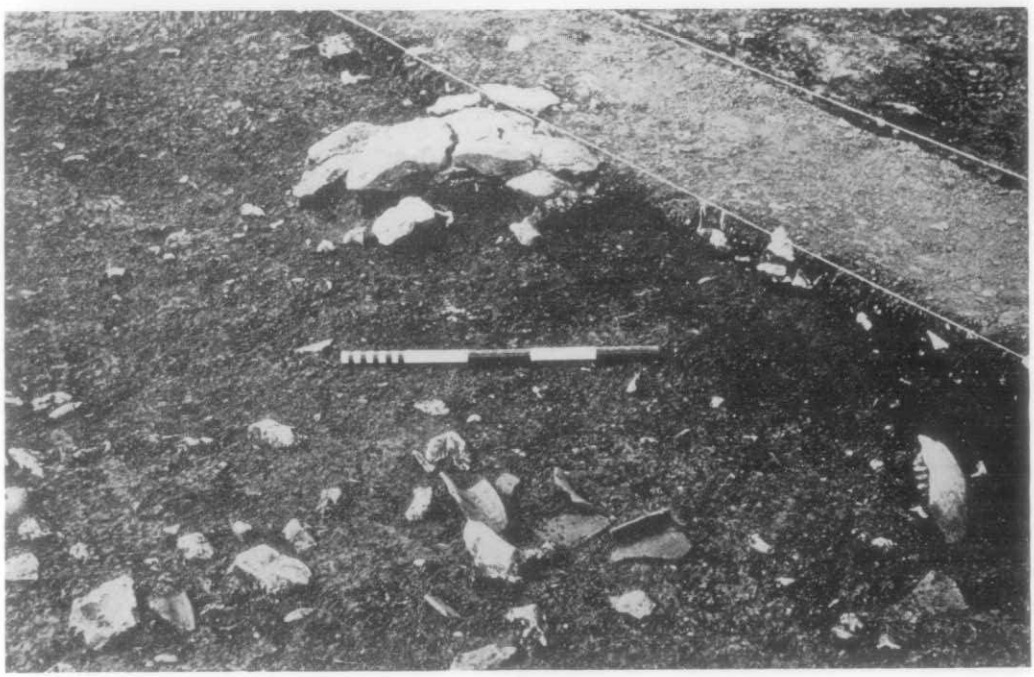
The high proportion of domestic goose is in agreement with poultry numbers from other Medieval sites. Under the open field system of agriculture there would be extensive stubble fields available in Autumn, where geese flocks would fatten on the fallen grain. It is assumed that goose-herds would pen the birds at night as a protection from foxes and wolves. The Tetsworth geese show bones which compare favourably with present-day domestic birds, but there is one much smaller variety present, which seems to bear the mark of domestication.

Domestic ducks are poorly represented, but the tarsal bone from Area 1, Ditch 3, layer 4 is a well-developed form, probably of a strain developed by the Romans.

The domestic fowl bones show practically no advance in size over specimens from Roman sites, but there are two tarsal bones which probably belong to capons as the tarsi bear scars where one would expect the male spur. These bones come into an intermediate size between normal cock and hen birds. The earliest examples of this form come from Norman sites so caponization may have been introduced by Norman farmers.

A small humerus of a species of falcon is referred to a male merlin, a species much in demand by falconers because of its dashing display in attack. The nearest breeding grounds for merlin would be the Welsh hills or the Devon coast or moors. Among the wild bird bones at Tetsworth are young and adult partridge and young dove, probably stock dove, both species being likely victims of the merlin's flights.

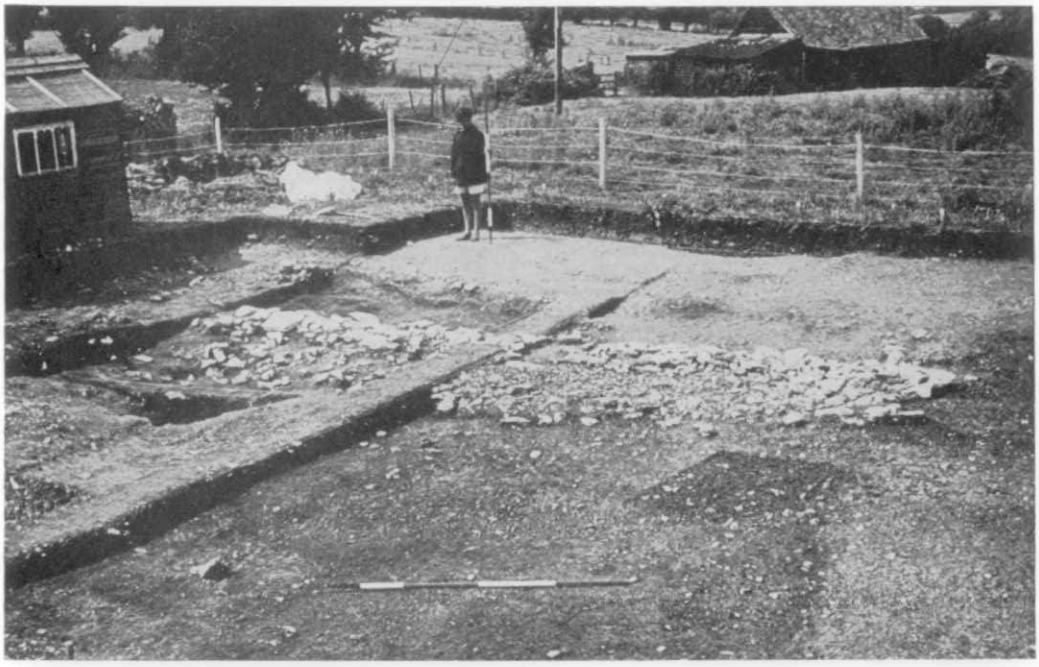
A



B

A : Shed 15 from the south, showing Pit 10 cutting it.
B : Rubbish scatter around Hearth 39.

Phh. : M.R.



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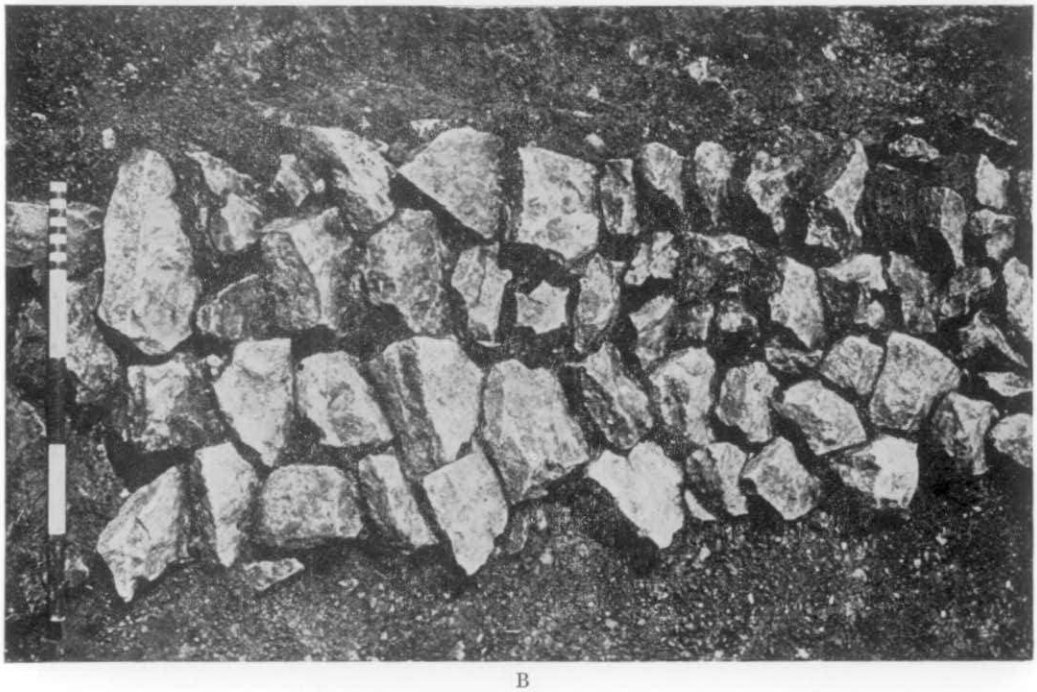

B

A : Barn A from S.E. corner.

B : Detail of northern wall of House B.

Phh. : M.R.